Rand^l Marriott 1771

GENUINE LETTERS

~~AND~~ AND ~~MEMOIRS~~

MEMOIRS,

Relating to the

Natural, Civil, and Commercial

HISTORY

Of the ISLANDS of

CAPE BRETON,

AND

SAINT JOHN,

From the first settlement there, to the taking of Louisburg by the English, in 1758.

In which, among many interesting particulars, the causes and previous events of the present war are explained.

By an impartial FRENCHMAN.

Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? Deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Cic. de Orat. lib. 2.

Translated from the Author's original manuscript.

LONDON,
Printed for J. NOURSE in the Strand. 1760.

GENUINE LETTERS

AND

MEMOIRS,

Relating to the

Epistle Dedicatory,

A WORK relating to Cape Breton ought naturally to be offered

TO A

GENTLEMAN,

BRITISH MUSEUM

In which, among many interesting particulars, the causes and previous events of the present war are explained.

By an impartial FRENCHMAN.

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LONDON,

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Epiſtle Dedicatory.

A WORK relating to Cape Breton ought naturally to be offered to the four illuſtrious perſonages, who ſhare the honour of this glorious and important conqueſt; and on that account I pay them this homage. It is as needleſs to mention their names, as it would be to attempt their panegyric: the ſervices they have done their country, hath engraved them in the hearts of the people. The able miniſter who formed the plan, which has rendered England ſo ſuperior to her enemies; the reſpectable director of the board of trade and plantations,

who had ſo great a hand in this noble deſign; the admiral and general, who diſplayed ſuch conduct and bravery in the execution, will ever command the veneration and gratitude of their countrymen, the admiration of foreign nations, and the profound reſpect of their moſt devoted, and moſt

humble ſervant, &c.

PRE-

PREFACE.

THE preſent ſtate of Europe is an object too intereſting to men of ſound judgment, not to fix their attention. Who is it that would chuſe to be ignorant of the cauſe and particular circumſtances of events, which raiſe our admiration and ſurprize? But our curioſity, however commendable, is often diſappointed. The generality of mankind are unacquainted with the internal nature of things, and viewing only their ſurface, are blinded by prejudice. Hence they diſcern the truth as it were amidſt a cloud, which oftentimes makes them loſe ſight of it; and in its ſtead they embrace an airy phantom. The difficulty of making reſearches, increaſeth this inconveniency.

People are ſatisfied with a ſuperficial account of things, rather than be at the trouble of inveſtigating the cauſe. The motives of an action are ſoon forgot, for want of reflecting on thoſe ſprings which imprint them in the memory: we know no more than incidents, which we attribute to extraordinary motives, inſtead of the natural cauſes, of which we have loſt ſight. It would require a man of abilities and application, and withal a real coſmopolite, to write the hiſtory of a war, in which the account of ſieges and battles is a matter of the leaſt importance. Such a writer would demonſtrate to us, that what we look upon as the principal object, is a conſequence very natural to foreſee, when once we are acquainted with the cauſe that was to produce it. But I am afraid it will be difficult to find a perſon qualified for ſo general a plan: we muſt therefore be content with the beſt hands we can get; with men whoſe character bears ſome reſemblance to that which I have

been

been deſcribing, and who have employed their time in giving us part of this deſign.

This work, of which I am only the editor, has a right to make its way in the world. It contains many details, which a friendly confidence has freed from all conſtraint, and in which no national prejudice obſcured the truth. Theſe are letters written from Louiſburg. They begin at the year 1752, *and are continued down to the ſiege of that place; the particulars of which, as well as the ſeveral operations of the war previous to that event, are fully deſcribed.*

We begin with a general and particular deſcription of Cape Breton, and the utility of its productions. Then we enter into the ſame detail in regard to the iſland of St. John, the proximity of which conſtitutes, in ſome meaſure, an integral with Cape Breton. An account of the manners, inclinations, and prejudices of the Indians, engages our cu-

riotſy next; and introduces ſuch reflexions as may be of very great uſe to thoſe who ſhall have occaſion to deal with thoſe people.

The other letters are concerning the French government eſtabliſhed at Louiſburg. Theſe contain ſome anecdotes, and an examination of the conduct of thoſe officers. On this occaſion we mention the concerns they had in trade, and the ſeveral ſchemes which they either had formed, or might have formed upon this ſubject. The inconveniencies ariſing from their bad conſtitution of government, are demonſtrated in theſe letters. The errors of thoſe employed in the adminiſtration are alſo pointed out, and the ſource of thoſe troubles is unlocked. Laſtly, the war which has been a natural conſequence of this whole bad conduct, together with its unproſperous events in regard to the French, are related with the utmoſt impartiality.

This ſubject, of itſelf ſo intereſting, becomes ſtill more ſo, as it may occaſion very ſolid reflexions, and give riſe to the moſt prudent reſolves.

The deſire I had of rendering this work as uſeful as poſſible, has unluckily been the cauſe of my deferring to ſend it abroad, before the public attention was fixed on other objects. It ſhould have made its appearance upwards of a twelvemonth ago: but the difficulty of recovering all the letters that were neceſſary to complete the undertaking; together with the deſire of obtaining the approbation of perſons, whoſe high employments do not afford them much leiſure for reading, have retarded the publication. However I am ſtill time enough for thoſe, whoſe ſtation in life renders them attentive both to paſt and preſent tranſactions, to the end that they may be able to conduct their negotiations with ſucceſs at the concluſion of the war. But whether the victors

pre-

preſerve their conqueſt, or the vanquiſhed attempt to recover it, both the one and the other muſt be obliged to our author, for rendering them ſenſible of conſequences equally eſſential to themſelves and to the public, and for placing matters in their proper light.

CON-

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ERRATA.

Pag. 29. l. 6. for *preceding* r. *proceeding.*
141. l. 12. for *desatigable* r. *indefatigable.*
323. l. 11. after *of* insert *them.*
330. l. 15. for *onerose* r. *onerous.*
352. l. 11. from the bottom before *none* insert *of.*

LET-

LETTER I.

General and particular description of Isle Royale, or Cape Breton, of the town and harbour of Louisburg.

SIR,

SINCE I cannot refuse complying with your earnest request, I intend forthwith to execute the task you have been pleased to enjoin me. I shall begin with a description of the country you are desirous of knowing, and omit nothing worthy of your curiosity.

Isle Royale, or the Royal Island, was first of all called *Isle du Cap*, or the Island of the Cape, and afterwards the *English harbour*. It is said that the name of *Cape Breton* was owing to its first discoverers, who were natives of Brittany. It was not called *Isle Royale* till the year 1713.

The ſame thing might be ſaid of this, as of ſeveral other iſlands, that it was a fragment of our terraqueous globe, from which it had been detached by ſome violent concuſſion; and the revolution might be fixed to the time of the deluge. But without waſting time in ſuch idle conjectures, let it ſuffice to obſerve, that it is of a very irregular figure, indented by numerous clefts, and ſtuck round, as it were with ſmall rocks, ſeveral of which riſe above the ſurface of the water. In ſhort, it is covered with lakes, rivulets, and bogs.

This iſland lay deſert and uncultivated till the year 1714, when the French of Newfoundland and Acadia, made ſome ſettlements on it. They took up their quarters near the ſea-ſhore, where there are villages containing a few ſcattered houſes. Each perſon built according to his fancy, and juſt as he found proper ground for drying of cod-fiſh, and for planting of gardens. This irregular manner of building occaſions a diſperſion of the inhabitants, with the inconveniencies ariſing from thence.

In the year 1713, after Lewis XIV. had been ſo long contending with the united powers of Europe, he made an offer to Queen Anne of part of the French poſſeſſions in North America, in order to detach Great-Britain from that formidable alliance. This negotiation proved ſucceſsful to France, conſidering the extremity to which ſhe was reduced. The loſs of Newfoundland, Hudſon's bay, and Acadia, in conſequence of the treaty of Utrecht, muſt have been the greater mortification to the French nation, as they had refuſed to accede to the treaty of partition, by which they would have made an acquiſition of rich and fruitful provinces, without the effuſion of blood.

Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, was ſpecified in this ceſſion, for no other reaſon but that the Engliſh, who were already in poſſeſſion of it, ſhould meet with no diſturbance hereafter. In ſhort, all that France could do, was to preſerve the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John.

Yet theſe had been hitherto conſidered

as moſt barren ſpots, and altogether unfit for making any ſettlements. In ſummer-time they were frequented by a few fiſhermen, and during the winter the inhabitants of Acadia reſorted thither for the ſake of the fur-trade with the ſavages.

But neceſſity, the mother of invention, obliged the French to try whether they could not put theſe iſlands into ſuch a condition, as might partly repair the great loſs they had ſuſtained. And their reaſon for this attempt was ſo much the ſtronger, as it was of the utmoſt conſequence to them not to be entirely driven out of the cod-fiſhery. They had likewiſe another intereſt, namely, to be within a proper diſtance for obſerving the progreſs of the Engliſh colonies in that neighbourhood, which in time might give umbrage, or prove detrimental, to thoſe of the French. Beſides, it was incumbent upon this nation to preſerve a poſt, which enables them to command the mouth of the river of St. Lawrence, whereby a communication is kept open with Canada or New France; and

and they have alſo a convenient harbour for their ſhips in diſtreſs of weather, which in thoſe ſeas is very common.

Conſiderations ſo ſolid, induced the court to plant the colony of Cape Breton, and to build the harbour of Louiſburg. The Segnelay, a ſhip commanded by M. de Contreville, arrived on that iſland the 13th of Auguſt 1713, and took poſſeſſion of it in the king's name; and then it was, as I before obſerved, that it received the appellation of *Iſle Royale*.

This iſland is ſituated in the Atlantic ocean and gulph of St. Lawrence, about two hundred leagues from Quebec, the capital of Canada, to whoſe juriſdiction it belongs. It lies between the iſland of Newfoundland, from which it is only about fifteen leagues diſtant; Acadia, now called Nova Scotia; and the iſland of St. John. From Nova Scotia it is parted by a very narrow channel, called by the French the ſtrait of *Fronſac*. It is in length about thirty ſix leagues from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, twenty two in its greateſt breadth,

and about a hundred and five in circumference. The ſhore is very ſteep, conſequently of dangerous acceſs to mariners; and it is every where covered with ſmall wood, of the ſpruce or fir kind, and with brambles. There are ſeveral harbours and bays round the iſland.

The chief of theſe, and at the ſame time the only town in the iſland, is Louiſburg, ſituate in forty one degrees of north latitude, and ſixty two degrees and a quarter of longitude, ſo that its meridian is four hours nine minutes weſt of Paris, according to the obſervations which M. Chaber, lieutenant of a man of war, made in the year 1750 and 1751 by order of the court of France.

The winter is very ſevere at Louiſburg, and ſubject to violent ſqualls of wind, eſpecially from the ſouth. The ſky is generally overcaſt either with heavy rains, or with thick fogs, eſpecially in ſummer, which renders it difficult to be diſcerned at ſea. The earth is covered with ſnow during the winter, and the froſt ſets in at Chriſtmas; during which time both land

and water form but one ſolid maſs. All kind of commerce is then at a ſtand, and the town puts on a melancholy aſpect, very different from the appearance it makes in ſummer, when crouded with ſea-faring people. Yet the air is wholeſome, notwithſtanding the tedioufneſs of the winter. Properly ſpeaking they have but two ſeaſons, winter and autumn; but in the inland parts there are three, ſummer, autumn, and winter.

The ſurface of almoſt the whole country is extremely diſagreeable, being nothing elſe but a light kind of moſs and water. The great humidity of the ground is productive of continual vapours.

A circumſtance that conſiderably adds to the horror of this ſeaſon, is a kind of meteor ſeldom obſerved in other countries, and which the inhabitants diſtinguiſh by the name of *poudrerie* or *powdering*. It is a ſpecies of very fine ſnow, which inſinuates itſelf into every hole and corner, and even into the minuteſt crevices. It does not ſeem to fall upon the ground,

but to be carried away horizontally by the violence of the wind, ſo that great heaps of it lie againſt the walls and eminences; and as it hinders a perſon from diſtinguiſhing even the nigheſt objects, or to open his eyes for fear of being hurt, the conſequence is, that he can hardly ſee his way. It even takes away one's breath. From thence we may judge of the many inconveniencies in this country, beſides the exceſſive cold. Should any one be ſurprized at the vaſt difference in this reſpect between this iſland and the greateſt part of North America, and even thoſe places which are of the ſame latitude on the oppoſite continent, his wonder will ceaſe upon taking a general ſurvey of this part of America. Being quite uncultivated, and almoſt uninhabited, it is covered on the one hand with frozen lakes during the ſpace of ſeveral months; and on the other, the woods are ſo thick as not to admit the rays of the ſun. In particular it may be obſerved with regard to Cape Breton, that independently of the lakes with which it

is partly covered, the middle of it contains a conſiderable arm or inlet of the ſea, which is oftentimes intirely frozen up, and the cold diffuſes itſelf immediately from thence over the whole iſland.

The ſea frequently ſtands ſtill in the harbour of Louiſburg, and it is generally half an hour, and ſometimes a whole hour, in the ſame ſtate.

The French did not begin to fortify Louiſburg till the year 1720. This town is built on a neck of land which juts out into the ſea, ſouth-eaſt of the iſland: it is of an oblong figure, and about half a league in circumference. The ſtreets are wide and regular; and near the principal fort or citadel there is a handſome parade. To the north ſide of the town there are three gates, and a ſpacious quay. They have likewiſe conſtructed a kind of bridges, called in the French language *calles*, which project conſiderably into the ſea, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading of goods. The fortifications conſiſt of two baſtions, called

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the King and Queen's; and two demi-baſtions, diſtinguiſhed by the names of the Dauphin and the Princeſs. Theſe two out-works, which were conſtructed towards the end of laſt year, are commanded by ſeveral eminences.

There is one general defect in all theſe fortifications, that the ſand, of which they make their mortar, is not at all proper for maſon's work. The revetements of the different curtains are intirely mouldered away; and there is only one caſemate, proof againſt bombs of a middling ſize, with a very ſmall magazine.

This is the more ſurprizing, as they have all the reaſon in the world to expect a war with England, conſidering the hoſtilities already committed on both ſides. But whether it be owing to the negligence of thoſe whoſe province it is to provide for the ſecurity of the place, or whether they depend on the ſtrength of the garriſon, I am afraid that the bravery of the enemy will make them repent either their imprudence or their preſumption.

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The houſes in Louiſburg are almoſt all of wood. The ſtone ones have been built at the king's expence, and are deſigned for the accommodation of the troops and the officers. When the Engliſh were maſters of the town in 1745, they erected very conſiderable caſerns. The French were obliged to tranſport all the materials of the ſtone-buildings, as well as of their other works, from Europe.

There is hardly a ſettlement that has been attended with greater expence to the French nation than this of Louiſburg. It is certain that they have laid out above thirty millions of livres, though the place does not ſeem to have been productive of any great advantage: yet, ſo cogent were the motives which induced them to put this ſcheme into execution, that the preſervation of Louiſburg will be always conſidered as an object of too great importance not to ſacrifice every thing to it.

Cape Breton protects the whole French trade of North America, and is of equal conſequence in regard to their commerce

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in the Weſt-Indies. If they had no ſettlement in this part of the north, their veſſels returning from St. Domingo or Martinico, would no longer be ſafe on the great bank of Newfoundland, particularly in time of war. Laſtly, as it is ſituated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Lawrence, it abſolutely commands the river of that name.

The entrance of the harbour of Louiſburg is defended by a battery, level with the ſurface of the water. It is planted oppoſite the light-houſe on the other ſide of the *grande terre*; and conſiſts of thirty ſix pieces of cannon, all of them four and twenty pounders. The harbour is alſo defended by a cavalier called by the name of *Maurepas*, which has twelve embrazures.

The royal battery, ſituate at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from the town, is mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, eight and twenty of which are thirty ſix pounders, and two are eighteen pounders. It commands the ſea, the town, and the bottom of the bay.

The port of Louiſburg is at leaſt a

league

league in length, and upwards of a quarter of a league at its ſmalleſt breadth. There is very good holding ground, and generally from ſix to ten fathoms water. They have a very ſafe and convenient place to careen their ſhips, where they may be laid up in the winter, only taking proper precautions againſt the ice. The harbour begins to be frozen in the month of November, and is not open again till May, and oftentimes till June.

I have already taken notice that the inner part of the iſland is covered with lakes, rivers, brooks, and moraſſes. The tide runs up moſt of the rivers. Among the reſt, the great *Bras-d'or*, or *Golden arm*, penetrates it in ſuch a manner, that the iſthmus between it and Port Tolouſe, is not above three hundred and fifty fathoms.

The country is extremely mountainous, and full of moraſſes, in general abounding with various ſorts of ſtone, and parget, and in ſome places with ſea-coal.

Before any ſettlements were made on this iſland, it was all over covered with

wood.

wood. There is but very little oak; but other ſorts of timber are exceeding common. On the top of ſome of the white firs, there grows a kind of muſhroom, by the inhabitants called *garigue*, which the ſavages uſe with very great ſucceſs againſt pains in the breaſt, and dyſenteries. They have four ſorts of fir-trees. The firſt is like ours; the other three are the white and red thorn, and the *ſpruce*: the ſecond and the fourth grow to a great height, and make excellent maſts, eſpecially the white thorn, which is likewiſe good timber. The bark is ſmooth and glofly, and produceth ſmall protuberances of the bigneſs of a kidney bean, which contain a kind of turpentine of excellent ſervice for healing all ſorts of wounds, and even for fractures. It is alſo ſaid to be a ſpecific againſt the fever, as well as the ſeveral diſorders of the ſtomach and breaſt. The method of uſing it is to infuſe two drops into a little broth. It is likewiſe a cathartic. At Paris they call it the *white balm*.

The ſpruce-fir is of the reſinous kind, but

but does not produce a ſufficient quantity for general uſe. The wood is very durable, and therefore proper for paliſades and incloſures. The bark is of excellent uſe for tanners; and the ſavages make a tincture of it, that borders very much on a deep blue.

This iſland alſo abounds with maple, beech, birch, and aſpen trees, beſides other ſorts of wood proper for firing.

Hitherto they have been able to reap no ſort of grain; but they have a vaſt deal of meadow-lands in ſome parts of the woods, on moſſy grounds, and on the banks of rivers, which produce excellent paſtures. The king is therefore obliged to maintain one part of the inhabitants, whilſt the others ſubſiſt by the fiſhery; and there are very few of them that can be reckoned worth money.

In ſome places they have begun to ſow wheat and rie, but never could bring them to proper maturity. I believe that oats would grow here, if the ſmall quantity the iſland is able to produce, was worth ſowing. It has been even obſerved that

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the grain ſown in this country, degenerates the ſecond year. There are ſeveral ſorts of legumes which agree with the ſoil, but the ſeed muſt be had from Europe, or from New-England. Cabbage, lettice, and different kinds of pulſe, thrive here as well as in France, though they are not altogether ſo forward. They have no manner of fruit except raſberries in the woods, with ſtrawberries and blue-bottles in the plains. The latter are as big as gooſeberries; and may be had till the month of October. They have likewiſe a ſmall red fruit of the bigneſs of a cherry, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *pomme de prè*; but it is only made uſe of in ſweet-meats.

With regard to game, there is plenty of all ſorts, as well as of different kinds of fiſh. But I ſhall refer this ſubject to another letter, wherein I purpoſe to treat of hunting and fiſhing.

I beg, Sir, you will be pleaſed to accept of my good intention in endeavouring to oblige you. In my next I propoſe finiſh-

finiſhing the deſcription of the iſland, and its principal harbours next to Louiſburg. This I am the more capable of performing, as I accompanied the perſons, appointed in 1752 by the Count de Raymond, mareſchal de camp; and governor of Cape Breton, to ſurvey the whole coaſt. I ſhall afterwards proceed to more intereſting matters, and you may judge of the pleaſure I ſhall receive in contributing to your amuſement, from the opinion you have of my ſincerity. I have the honour of being,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER II.

Deſcription of the iſland of Cape Breton continued; of the principal parts inhabited, of its productions, &c.

SIR,

IN my laſt I promiſed you a particular deſcription of the remainder of the iſland of Cape Breton, before I came to

Louiſburg. I ſhall keep my word; nay, I ſhall do more, and give you likewiſe a compendious account of the iſland of St. John. As this and ſome other adjacent places belong to the government of Louiſburg, of courſe they are within the ſphere of your inquiry concerning the French poſſeſſions in this part of North America. You ſee that in extending the limits of your curioſity, I conſider rather your pleaſure than my own trouble; but indeed there can be none in ſerving a friend of your conſequence and value.

Port Toulouſe is the moſt conſiderable harbour in the iſland of Cape Breton next to Louiſburg; and of the two is the moſt populous. From hence to Louiſburg by land is about the diſtance of eighteen leagues. The road was made by the Count de Raymond in 1752. The court of France greatly diſapproved of this undertaking, and indeed not without good reaſon. The expending a hundred thouſand livres upon a road, that can be of no ſervice but to the enemy, by rendering thoſe eminences

which

which command Louiſburg more acceſſible, is certainly money very ill applied. True it is that the abovementioned gentleman intended to erect a few redoubts, in order to oppoſe a deſcent, in caſe of a war with England: but he ſhould not have ventured to execute the one, without making himſelf ſure of the other.

This poſt notwithſtanding would be of the utmoſt importance, were it only fortified. It ſerves as a ſtaple or magazine for the iſland of St. John, which is no more than forty leagues diſtant: there the inhabitants of *Iſle Madame*, *Little Degrat*, *L'Ardoiſe*, *St. Eſprit*, and of *the river of inhabitants*, may eaſily aſſemble. Beſides, it is conveniently ſituated for giving intelligence of the motions of the Engliſh, either on the ſide of Canſo, which is only eighteen leagues from Louiſburg; or towards the paſſage of Fronſac.

I ſet out upon my journey the fifth of February 1752, in company with the perſons whom the commandant had directed to make an exact ſurvey of the coaſt. The road we

took was that of the Count de St. Raymond, leaving on the left-hand a lake, which forms the rivulet of *Point flat*. The ſixth we arrived at Gabarus bay, after travelling half the way from the firſt habitation through a foreſt of beech in a very ſandy ſoil, and the other half through a road *, which brought us to the foot of the *Devil's mountain*.

Gabarus bay, in the neighbourhood of Louiſburg, is formed by the *white point*, diſtant from each other about three leagues by ſea, and ſix by land. It is nearly a league and a half in length, to the north-weſt of what we properly call Gabarus point; where there are two peninſula's, called *Deſgoutins* and the *Governor's*, within which there is ſafe anchorage in all weather, except during the ſouth-eaſt winds, for then the ſea is moſt boiſterous. The bottom is gravel, and good holding ground. The

* The French call it *chemin plaqué*, the nature of which is as follows: when they intend to make a road acroſs a wood, thoſe that go foremoſt have a hatchet in their hand, with which they cut off the bark of the trees to the right and to the left, within a certain diſtance, in order to mark out the way.

two

two points forming this bay, are ſituated north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt. On the *flat point* to the north-weſt of the iſland, between the *white point* and *Cote Morandiere*, which is only half a league from Louiſburg, there is a creek, where the Engliſh made a deſcent in 1745. Here you may eaſily take in freſh water, upon the *Governor's iſland*, which has two ſprings within ſeven or eight fathoms from the ſea-ſhore, that run into the neighbouring *barachois* or *ponds*.

They give the name of *barachois* in this country to ſmall ponds near the ſea, from which they are ſeparated only by a kind of cauſeway. There is no poſſibility of travelling even the diſtance of a league along the coaſt without meeting with ſome of theſe pieces of water.

The land between Gabarus point and the town is very uneven, marſhy, and full of brambles. It is covered with turf twelve feet deep, which all the art of man can never dry up. Neither is there any poſſibility of draining off the waters, the bogs being ſurrounded with high rocky

ground. The bottom is a mixture of fat clay, and round ſtones, that form a very hard cement. From thence it is eaſy to judge of the difficulty of making a deſcent in this part of the bay, and of tranſporting artillery over ſuch ground. But from *Cote Morandiere*, which is four leagues upon a deſcent from *Baſque point* to the *Devil's mountain*, there are ſeveral creeks or little bays at a ſmall diſtance from each other, where an enemy may land without running any great danger.

We left the *Devil's mountain* behind us, and arrived at *Baſque point*, otherwiſe called *Point dehors* *, which is two leagues further. At the foot of the mountain begins a ſand-bank, half a league in length, and from forty to fifty fathoms in breadth. Here an enemy may land at any time with the tide, except it blows a ſtorm. Neither could the redoubts propoſed to be erected on *Point flat*, and on *Cote Morandiere*, hinder a deſcent in this place, being at too great a diſtance.

* The *outward point*.

Yet theſe redoubts, as I have before obſerved, would ſtill be of great uſe. For not only they would hinder the enemy from landing too near the town; but even when he had effectuated a deſcent by means of the ſand-bank at the bottom of the bay, they would annoy him greatly. Becauſe, after forcing his way through a road almoſt impracticable, he would be under a neceſſity of attacking the redoubts before he could get into the other road: and this would be attended with ſo much the more danger, as by making proper detachments of the garriſon, under brave and able commanders, together with the aſſiſtance of the ſavages, thoſe little forts might be rendered in ſome meaſure impregnable.

Within a quarter of a league of the ſand-bank ſouthward, there is a creek near the outward point of the abovementioned bay, where veſſels may ride at anchor in four or five fathoms water, ſheltered from all winds, except the north, which blows over the land. This place is very well ſituated for the cod-fiſhery, which the old inhabi-

tants followed with ſucceſs before the laſt war; and ſome do follow it ſtill: but upon the whole, this ſettlement has been very much neglected. The ſoil is of a middling quality. There are ſeveral fine meadows in this neighbourhood, that produce excellent paſture, proper for grazing a large number of cattle, though a great part of the land lies altogether waſte.

We ſet out from Gabarus the eighth, and took our route by the harbour of *Fourche*; diſtant from thence three leagues. Behind the ſand-bank we found a lake, which we followed for a quarter of a league weſtward. This lake may be two hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth. The banks are covered with fir, and the neighbouring lands with beech. We croſſed a thicket of fir-trees, of about forty fathoms: this brought us to the long lake, which may be a quarter of a league in length, and two hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth. The banks are covered with beech. We followed this water about a hundred fathoms, till we arrived at the great lake of Gabarus, form-

ing

ing three branches, which run a great way up the country, to the north, north-eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt. The river of the pond of *Bellefeuille* has its riſe in the north branch. We went acroſs it, directing our courſe ſouth-weſt about four hundred fathoms, and then weſt north-weſt for a quarter of a league. The borders of the lake have very little beech, but almoſt every where are covered with fir.

At the further end of this lake we made a carriage of fourſcore fathoms, and a ſecond of four hundred, after finding another lake five hundred and fifty fathoms long and ſeventy in breadth; and at length we arrived at the pond of *Bellefeuille*.

This pond is very ſpacious, and forms ſeveral large branches, that run up the country, north-eaſt, north and north-weſt. The borders of it are covered with brambles and fir. The entrance is north and ſouth, and may be about two fathoms in breadth. A light boat may get in at high water.

A quarter of a league beyond this pond on the ſea-ſide there is a ſand-bank, which runs north-

north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt. Its ſituation on the open beach will not afford any ſhelter for ſhips; ſo that if an enemy were to make a deſcent there in fine weather, he would run the danger of being cut off, if there was to be a ſtorm before he reimbarked. Beſides, he would have a thouſand obſtacles to ſurmount, in caſe he attempted to advance into the country, as far as Gabarus by the road we have been juſt now deſcribing, which is acceſſible only to a few people.

We left this pond to thoſe who were raſh enough to venture being loſt there, and entered into an *auniguen* *, which brought us eaſt ſouth-weſt for above four hundred fathoms to the pond of *Marcochet*. This place is a league in breadth, and has ſeveral branches. That to the north-weſt is a league and a half in length, forming a great many little iſlands; the gullet of it lies north and ſouth, and may be about twelve fathoms in breadth. At high water

* A term uſed by the ſavages to ſignify a place which the tide comes up to, and is left almoſt dry at low-water. The ſavages drive ſtakes or piles to keep in the fiſh after the water is run off.

a boat

a boat heavy laden may croſs it, taking care to avoid a rock to the entrance to the right, and a ſand-bank to the left. Theſe two ſhelves render the paſſage quite unſafe, except in a boat. The borders of the ponds are covered with fir, and before them there is a ſand-bank not unlike to that of Belle-fouille. About a league wide from hence there are a good many breakers, which have not above a fathom water, and there are great numbers of them on this coaſt, as there are of ſand-banks that riſe above water all along from the neck or gullet to the harbour of Fourché, diſtant from thence but a quarter of a league.

The harbour of Fourché is ſituated on the coaſt to the ſouthward of the iſland, and is an excellent place for the cod-fiſhery. The entrance is very difficult becauſe of the ſhoals. It is divided into two branches; one runs weſt north-weſt, and the other weſt. The latter was made very commodious before the laſt war. The Engliſh ſet fire to all the ſettlements, excepting a magazine of a hundred feet, which is ſtill in being,

being. The lands around this haven produce very good paſture, and in great abundance.

We ſet out from Fourché the ninth, and after traverſing a wood of ſpruce fir about a quarter of a league, we came to a lake extending alſo a quarter of a league in length, and about a hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth; and following one of its branches, we arrived at length at the *Great raſberry-pond*.

This place is ſituated within half a league of the harbour of Fourché. The entrance lies north-weſt and ſouth ſouth-weſt, and may be about a hundred and ten fathoms at its greateſt breadth. There are two breakers over againſt the mouth of it; but this does not hinder boats with five or ſix cords of wood, from entering; nor veſſels from riding ſafe at anchor. It runs a league and a half up the country, and is divided into ſeveral branches: that to the north north-weſt forms towards the middle a great many little iſlands. The lands being ſwampy, you ſee nothing worth

notice

notice except a few meadows. The country is covered with firs and briars; yet with ſuch a prodigious intermixture of raſberries, as to give name to this pond, as well as to another which we arrived at by an *auniguen*, preceding weſtward the ſpace of two hundred fathoms.

The ſecond pond, knownby the name of the *Small-raſberry*, is very inconſiderable, being acceſſible only to the canoes of the ſavages. It is a league in breadth to the ſouth-weſt, and is divided into ſeveral branches, which run about two leagues up the land, forming ſeveral ſmall iſlands. That which branches out to north north-eaſt, is ſaid to form a river, which empties itſelf into the lake of the river of Miré.

From thence we continued to ſurvey the coaſt the ſpace of four leagues, till we arrived at *St. Eſprit*. In this paſſage we perceived no more than two creeks, where boats may be ſheltered from the winds, reckoning from the weſt and north-weſt points to north north-eaſt. That creek which they diſtinguiſh by the name of *Captan*,

tun, is the ſafeſt. But excepting theſe two places of ſhelter for ſhallops and canoes, the remainder of the coaſt is inacceſſible, being lined with rocks and high grounds, the tops of which are covered with fir.

The harbour of *St. Eſprit* * admits of veſſels of ſixty or ſeventy tun, which may anchor there in the middle of the road, ten or twelve feet deep at high water. The mouth thereof lies north-eaſt and weſt ſouth-weſt. There are two breakers, one on each ſide. Behind the road there is a pond, which runs up the land about half a league to the north-weſt. It is lined with paſture grounds; and the mouth or gullet is deep enough at high water for boats laden with five cords of wood.

St. Eſprit is well planted, and lies very convenient for the cod-fiſhery. Round about it there are a great many meadows; but the ſoil in general is ſandy, and covered with fir; yet they have a great many very good gardens, abounding with all ſorts

* The French call it a *rade foreine*, which ſignifies that trading veſſels can have acceſs to it only at particular times of the year.

of

of legumes. Notwithſtanding that this place has ſuffered greatly by the laſt war, yet it begins to recover itſelf apace.

The 11th of February we ſet out from *St. Eſprit* for *Ardoiſe* *, where we arrived the ſame day. In the courſe of ſix leagues, which was the whole diſtance, we found a ſand bank which produceth abundance of herbs, eſpecially wild peaſe and rock parſley, and a kind of wild ſalary, of excellent uſe for ſallads and ſoups. This bank extends from *St. Eſprit* as far as the *Cabbage creek* †. The place is but ſmall, yet veſſels may ride there in ſouth-weſt, north-weſt, and north north-eaſt winds; but if it blows from any other quarter of the compaſs, they are greatly expoſed. The circumference may be three quarters of a league, and in the middle it has ſeven or eight fathoms water. There are two breakers wide of the creek, which upon your entrance you leave to the right. The great river diſembogues itſelf into this creek. Were it poſſible for

* *Ardoiſe* ſignifies a *ſlate* in French. † *Anſe de la choux.*

veſſels

veſſels of eighty tun to enter, they might run up the ſpace of two leagues. The banks are covered with beech and with various ſorts of fir and pine-trees.

From thence as far as *Ardoiſe*, the diſtance of four leagues, we ſaw nothing but a chain of ſteep rocks, and a ſand-bank oppoſite the iſlands of *Michault*, which lie half a league out to ſea, and abound with ſuch plenty of game, that the whole ſurface of the ground ſeems to be covered with it. In ſhort, the coaſt all along to *Ardoiſe*, exhibits nothing but precipices to the eye, and is abſolutely inacceſſible.

The bay of *Ardoiſe* divides itſelf into two branches; the ſmalleſt, though expoſed to the winds from the main, is preferable to the other, becauſe it does not run ſo far up the country, and has a larger column of water. Veſſels are obliged to laveer with all winds in the great bay, and of courſe are detained there a conſiderable while: ſo that they never come to anchor there but when neceſſity obliges them to it. This branch advances above half a league up

the land, but is navigable only for ſhallops. However, it is an excellent bay for fiſhing, as it abounds with very good cod. There is plenty of paſture and beech in the neighbourhood; but the ſoil is too ſandy to be proper for any other purpoſe than gardening.

In this bay there is a quarry of ſlate, from whence it takes its name. The coaſt is very ſteep, and towards that part near the ſea-ſhore, you may ſee the different ſtrata. This quarry runs a great way, and if the ſlate were but of a good quality, it would be a conſiderable advantage to the colony. We examined it in two different places, but miſſed the right ſtratum. We found only ſome large flakes, ſo looſe as to break at the leaſt contact.

From *Ardoiſe* we ſet out the 13th, and came to a ſpacious bay, the entrance of which lies ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt. It is four fathoms in depth; and when veſſels have got in, they may ride extremely ſafe in fifteen or ſixteen feet water, except in very high winds. As the bottom is a quick-ſand, if they were to drive from

their anchors, they would either run upon the rocks of *Cape Ardoiſe*, or be loſt upon a ſand-bank at the bottom of the bay. This inconveniency is the cauſe of its not being frequented by mariners in autumn, at which time it frequently blows hard upon the coaſt; and then no veſſels venture except thoſe concerned in tranſporting cord-wood.

Within a quarter of a league of this bay, you diſcover the iſland of the ſouth ſouth-weſt point, which may be about half a league in circumference. It is the boundary of the lands of the great iſland by the cape of the ſouth-weſt part of the bay, and is covered with beech.

Upon quitting this place we diſcovered a ſmall *auniguen* and two ponds, one of which is called the pond of the ſeven little iſlands; but they are too inconſiderable to engroſs your attention.

From thence we proceeded through a wood of different ſorts of trees, at the end of which we diſcovered Port Touloufe, where we arrived ſoon after. As

this

this is a very ſafe harbour, you will permit me, Sir, to land you. Indeed this account has been ſo diffuſe, that I can add nothing further to it without being tireſome: and the barrenneſs of the ſubject is ſuch, that I ought even to aſk pardon for taking up ſo much of your time. Yet this narrative may be of advantage; and ſince you are deſirous of making the tour of the iſland, I muſt give you proper directions for landing. But ſhould you be curious to know how many enemies you would have to encounter, if like Amadis of Gaul, you were to venture by yourſelf upon an expedition of this high importance, I am qualified to give you a ſatisfactory account from Louiſburg as far as Port Touloufe. The whole number is no more than one hundred and eighty inhabitants, ſome of whom live very comfortably, and others indifferently; but they fare beſt towards Gabarus, where there is plenty of game, and where the woodcocks are ſo extremely tame, that you may knock them down with ſtones. Conſult your courage upon theſe articles, and in the

mean while believe me that I am with the greateſt attachment,

SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER III.

Deſcription of Cape Breton continued, of the coaſt to the right, &c.

SIR,

I Have received the favour of yours, in anſwer to my firſt letter concerning the iſland of Cape Breton; and am greatly pleaſed that you make no other complaint than at my not having entered into a ſufficient detail. You will have no occaſion, I am ſure, to find the ſame fault with the ſecond, nor with thoſe which I ſhall write to you hereafter. As for reflections which ariſe from the nature of the ſubject, and afford entertainment to the mind, you will agree with me that it is proper to defer them, till I have finiſhed the deſcriptive part, in which you are not for having the leaſt thing omitted. You muſt therefore bear with the ſterility of the ſubject; for I do not rank you among thoſe who

take

take pleaſure in criticiſing the works of the Creator, or in finding fault with people when they have done their beſt. This is ſtrictly applicable to far the greateſt part of the topography of Cape Breton; but perhaps we ſhall be more entertaining, after we have finiſhed the account of this voyage, which has been hitherto conducted as far as Port Touloufe.

You enter this harbour, which is ſituated to the right, by a narrow paſſage. The entrance runs eaſt and weſt for the ſpace of three leagues, and is of unequal breadth: yet it may be reduced to a hundred and ſeventy fathoms. Veſſels of a hundred and fifty tun cannot get in, there being two ſhoals in the middle. It requires great ſkill even to pilot the ſmall veſſels.

Port Touloufe is formed by the coaſt point, and that of the brick-kiln, which lie north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. The diſtance from one to the other is three quarters of a league. There is a channel through which the king's frigates might paſs, if there was not a very long winding, which renders it of

difficult acceſs. Yet in caſe of neceſſity the entrance might be facilitated even to large ſhips, only by being at the expence of marking the channel to the right and to the left; for then a veſſel might paſs without running any riſk. It is pity that this harbour is not rendered capable of admitting ſhips of all burdens, as it affords a moſt delightful proſpect, and is eaſy to fortify. Several forts might be conſtructed on the different points around it, which would hinder an enemy from approaching: but in its preſent condition it is next to impoſſible to prevent a deſcent, as you may judge from what follows.

From the point of the *old intendance* to the river of Tillard, and from thence to the *creek of the brick-kilns*, where the ſoil is ſtony and improper for tillage, it is very good landing all the way, and protected from the ſettlement. As you approach towards land, the brick-kiln is only a league diſtant from the houſes in the harbour, and three quarters of a league from the river of Tillard.

This river lies convenient for trade; affording a ſafe, though not very ſpacious, harbour. Veſſels of a hundred tun are ſheltered from all winds. The inhabitants of Port Touloufe run their boats here aſhore in winter. This is the only part not overlooked by the King's ſettlement. From *Coaſt-point* there runs a ſtrand, which leaves a ſmall ſpace as far as the northland, where this ſettlement is ſituated. In this ſpot there is a branch that advances half a league eaſtward into the country, where it would be as eaſy to land as in any part whatever.

Half a league from the harbour eaſt ſouth-eaſt, lies the great ſtrand, formed by a point to the eaſt, and another weſt. The entrance is ſouth-weſt and north-weſt. Veſſels may anchor in five or ſix fathoms water. It is likewiſe protected from all winds, except thoſe that blow from off the land. There are two breakers oppoſite the eaſt-point, which are viſible at low-water; but in coming in you leave them on your left-hand.

The creek of the *great ſtrand* has a pond at the further end of it, which runs above a quarter of a league into the country north-weſt. The borders are covered with wood of various ſorts, as is the whole neighbourhood of Port Touloufe.

I muſt now take ſome notice of the conveniency of this harbour. Its populouſneſs hath been already mentioned; and indeed they reckon two hundred and thirty inhabitants, excluſive of officers and the king's troops. Theſe people are very induſtrious; and it is they that ſupply Louiſburg with moſt of its proviſion. In ſummer they are employed in building boats, and ſmall veſſels; in winter they cut fire-wood and timber. Beſides, they till the earth, and keep a ſufficient quantity of cattle and poultry. They were the firſt that brewed an excellent ſort of antiſcorbutic, of the tops of the *ſpruce-fir*; and from the ſame tree they extract a kind of turpentine, which they call *white balm*. They have a great number of maple trees of a very good grain, proper for furniture of all ſorts, and eſpecially for

the

the ſtocks of guns. This wood has a different ſap from all others, which the inhabitants extract from it by trituration in the months of March and April. It is a juice moſt agreeable to the taſte, of the colour of Spaniſh wine, good for the breaſt, a preſervative againſt the ſtone, and no way hurtful to the ſtomach. They boil it, and make ſugar of it. Laſtly, this is the place that the ſavages of Cape Breton and Acadia bring all their furs to, and exchange them for European commodities.

Port Touloufe being no more than eighteen leagues from Louiſburg, and five and twenty from the iſland of St. John by the lake of Labrador, is of courſe the center of communication to the whole iſland. From thence one may obſerve the leaſt motion of the Engliſh, either at Canſo, or in the paſſage of Fronſac; and advice may be ſent to the commandant of Louiſburg in leſs than eighteen hours.

The ſavages who are almoſt all in a body on the iſland of the *holy family* in Labrador, where they have a miſſionary

whom

whom they highly reſpect, might likewiſe be of ſervice in giving early intelligence. Beſides, being ſo near, they might come over in a trice upon the leaſt appearance of danger; as well as the people of the iſlands of *Madame*, *Petit Degnat*, *Ardoiſe*, *St. Eſprit*, and the *river of inhabitants*.

You ſee, Sir, that ſuch a number of men collected in a body, would make a ſmall army, ſo as to render this place impregnable, eſpecially with the aſſiſtance of a few fortifications.

After making theſe remarks, we ſet out from Port Touloufe the twentieth of February, and directed our courſe by a river diſtant from thence a league and a half. It loſes itſelf in the *ſmall paſſage*, and takes its riſe in a large baſon ſituated within a quarter of a league of the gullet in the north part of the iſland. Its length from eaſt to weſt is about half a league; and its breadth, which is very unequal, may be at the moſt a hundred and fifty fathoms. The entrance lies north and ſouth. In a courſe of upwards of a quarter of a

league

league it is from fifteen to ſixteen feet deep at high water; and in every part throughout you meet with from three to five. It is navigable for veſſels of a hundred tun, which are laden here with timber and cord-wood.

The badneſs of the weather obliged us to ſojourn ſome time on the banks of this river, which are covered with beech. We ſet out from hence the next day, and after making a carriage for about a quarter of a mile through a plantation of fir, we arrived at the creek of *Decoux*, ſituate on the lands belonging to the iſlands of *Madame*.

This creek would form part of the ſtrait of Fronſac, were it not for the ſeparation effected by two iſlands, which lie in a direct line with the north lands, bordering on each other. There are two entrances at the two extremities of theſe iſlands. The north and ſouth-weſt part of the eaſtern extremity, is by far the wholſomeſt. Veſſels of a hundred tun may anchor here in every part from three to nine fathoms. The north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt part of the weſtern extremity is navigable only for veſ-

ſels

fels that draw from ſix to ſeven feet at high water.

The length of this creek is three quarters of a league, and half a quarter in breadth. It runs eaſt and weſt. The banks are covered with fir; and about a quarter of a league within land, you meet with all ſorts of timber, proper for conſtructing veſſels of leſſer burden.

Leaving this creek, we croſſed the ſtrait above the *burnt iſland*, and arrived at the iſlands of *Madame*, after a paſſage of a hundred and fifty fathoms.

The ſtrait of Fronſac ſeparates Cape Breton from the continent, and is one of the entrances of the gulph of St. Lawrence. It is the channel of communication between Louiſburg and the iſland of *St. John*, *Green-bay*, *Chedaik*, the *bay des Chaleurs* *, *Gaſpée*, and the remainder of Canada; not only becauſe it is the ſhorteſt way, but moreover for the advantage of ſafe anchorage in caſe of bad weather, or of contrary winds. This paſſage is known only to the cruiſers of Cape Breton, who perform it in

* *Bay of heats.*

ſmall

ſmall veſſels; but it will become of greater importance, in proportion as the country grows more populous. It is extremely eaſy and convenient for all ſorts of veſſels. The ſtrait is five or ſix leagues to the north-weſt of Canſo. It is ſituate nearly north north-weſt, and ſouth ſouth-eaſt, in length about four leagues, and at the moſt but half a league in breadth. In one part it is no more than three hundred fathoms.

The iſlands of *Madame* lie before the mouth of the ſtrait of Fronſac to the ſouth-eaſt, and extend themſelves betwixt Port Toulouſe and Canſo, forming two outlets to the right and left, which are diſtinguiſhed by the names of the *greater* and *leſſer paſſage* for arriving at the entrance of the ſtrait. The *greater paſſage* is that which ſeparates theſe iſlands of *Madame* from the continent, and is navigable for all ſorts of veſſels. The leſſer is formed by the principal of theſe iſles and Cape Breton, and is full of little iſlands. It is navigable only for ſmall veſſels.

This iſland is near four leagues in length, and

and a league and a half in breadth. The length, as well as the paſſage, runs eaſt and weſt; and the breadth is north and ſouth. It is indented in two places by arms of the ſea, which divide it into three parts, and there is hardly water enough for ſhallops.

The ſoil is not proper for cultivation; for, not to mention that in ſpring there are continual fogs, the earth is only a compoſition of white clay and of ſtones heaped upon one another. The interior part is covered with beech and ſmall cherry trees, and the borders with different ſorts of fir.

The inhabitants of the iſlands of *Madame* are about a hundred and thirteen in number, and live as well as they can: that is, being greatly ſtreigthened by the barrenneſs of the ſoil, they ſubſiſt by means of a little commerce. Some maintain themſelves by fiſhing and hunting; others by cruizing winter and ſummer, and cutting wood for firing, which they ſell for five livres the cord along the coaſt. The few horned cattle they are able to maintain, are likewiſe a conſiderable relief to them: in ſhort, their di-

ſtreſs was ſo great as to excite our compaſſion.

We quitted this country without any other regret than that of leaving ſuch miſerable people behind us. And taking a canoe to carry us to *Petit Degrat*, we followed the coaſt, ſetting out from the creek of *Detour* oppoſite to Port Touloufe, a quarter of a league from Cape la Ronde, whoſe ſteep banks are altogether inacceſſible. There are likewiſe a great many breakers and ſand-banks at ſome diſtance from the ſhore.

After taking our leave of this creek, we entered that of *Petit Degrat*, which is formed by *Cape la Ronde* and *Cape a grós Nez* *, diſtant one from the other almoſt a league. It runs about a league into the land, ſtill preſerving its round figure. At the further extremity and at the diſtance of two hundred fathoms, veſſels may anchor in five or ſix fathoms water, ſheltered from every wind except eaſt north-eaſt. True it is that the navigation would not be ſafe here in the autumnal ſtorms; yet when the Engliſh were maſters of the country, they

* In Engliſh, *Cape of the great noſe.*

fre-

frequented this creek with veſſels of three hundred tun to take in cord-wood. But they are more adventurous than our cruizers.

In the middle of this creek there are three little iſlands, which appear at ſome diſtance, let the ſea be ever ſo tempeſtuous. Small veſſels are ſheltered here from eaſt, ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt winds; but you muſt take care to avoid a breaker between the land and theſe little iſlands. There is a paſſage or channel between them and the breaker, and another between this and the land. There is another breaker within a quarter of a league of *Cape la Ronde*, which, upon your entrance, may without any danger be left to the right or left, as there is a paſſage between it and the cape. One part of the land is covered with beech and the other with fir.

The creek of *Petit Degrat* is diſtant from the harbour only about a quarter of a league. Before the laſt war, there was a communication between them by means of a channel, the mouth of which has been filled

filled up by a violent ſtorm. Yet boats with five or ſix cords of wood continue to go through.

This channel was extremely convenient for the fiſhermen, who carried their fiſh to Louiſburg; becauſe as ſoon as they got out of the great creek, they made their way acroſs the pond of *Ardoiſe* in leſs than an hour. But at preſent they are obliged to go through the mouth of the harbour of *Petit Degrat*, to double the cape of *Gras Nez*, which projects a great way; and to run out four or five leagues to ſea, in order to double *Ardoiſe*, which they are not always ſure of doing in four and twenty hours: for you may judge that when they meet with contrary winds, they chuſe rather to caſt anchor, than venture to run twelve or fifteen leagues out to ſea.

This paſſage was likewiſe of great uſe to the fiſhermen at *Petit Degrat*, becauſe let the weather be ever ſo bad, their boats might get out and back again to the harbour.

The expence of reſtoring this communication, and of repairing the channel, would

not exceed three hundred livres; a sum in itself very inconsiderable, but still more so when compared to the advantage it must produce.

This creek is likewise of excellent use for the fishery in the spring. At the further end of it the shore is very level, and there are excellent banks for drying the cod-fish, which is caught here in great plenty.

The harbour of *Petit Degrat* is situate on the coast, south-east of the islands of *Madame*, opposite the famous port of Canso, three hundred leagues distant from each other. They lie south south-west, and north north-east.

This same harbour is formed by the point of the river on the lands to the north-west, and by *Cape de Fer* to the south-east. The entrance may be about half a quarter of a league in breadth, and lies north-east and south-west.

This harbour runs half a league into the country north-east, and is almost throughout of the same breadth. There is a breaker at the distance of about a hundred fathoms

of its mouth, oppoſite to cape de Fer. You leave it to the right upon your entrance; and after you have paſſed it, you keep cloſe to the land, following the channel. The cluſter of rocks to the left, will permit no boat to approach the ſhore at low water, without running a very great riſk. The harbour itſelf is practicable only for veſſels of a hundred and fifty tun at the moſt, the channel being but twelve or thirteen feet deep at high water. When they have got in, they caſt anchor in the *creek aux navires* *, where they are ſheltered from the ſouth-weſt winds, which blow here chiefly in the ſpring.

The ſoil about *Petit Degrat* contains a mixture of pebbles and flints, with a ſuperficies of turf. The inhabitants are intirely employed in the fiſhery, in which they meet with ſucceſs; for on this ſpot they catch by far the beſt cod, and in the greateſt quantity, of any part of the iſland. Hence it is that moſt of the inhabitants, who in the whole may be a

* *The creek for ſhips.*

hundred and thirty ſeven, are fiſhermen.

The twenty ſixth of February we departed from *Petit Degrat*, and ſteering our courſe for the harbour of *Grand Nericka*, diſtant half a league from thence, we came upon lands intirely covered with different ſorts of wood.

Grand Nericka is one of the beſt harbours in the whole country, and extremely proper for fiſhing in large veſſels. It is formed by the iſlands of *Madame*, and by the iſland of *Pichot*. There are two entrances to it; but the eaſt one is the beſt. It lies north and ſouth-weſt, and may be a quarter of a league in breadth. There are two breakers oppoſite to *L'Iſle d'Entrée*, which upon your entrance, you leave to the left. Take care you keep cloſe to the land on this ſide, in order to avoid theſe breakers, becauſe they are ſituate almoſt in the middle of the firſt entrance. The ſecond to the weſt, lies weſt north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. It is about half a league in breadth, and practicable only for veſſels of fifty tun.

This

This harbour is very ſpacious, and runs a whole league north-eaſt into the country, which is intirely covered with beech.

Leaving *Great Nericka* we entered the harbour of *Little Nericka*, which is practicable only for ſmall veſſels. The whole conſiſts of ſeveral creeks and ponds, which are formed within the land, and covered with beech.

From thence we kept along the coaſt as far as *Cape Rouge*, and traverſed the narrow paſſage in order to proceed to the *river of inhabitants*, diſtant about nine leagues from the haven of *Little Nericka*. We followed the right banks of the *leſſer paſſage*, till we arrived at the great baſon of the *river of inhabitants*, which loſeth itſelf in this little paſſage of Fronſac.

The entrance of the baſon is ſituated eaſt and weſt, and has a depth of ſeven fathoms at low water; but is not equal throughout. The baſon, which is a league in length, and a quarter in breadth, runs eaſt north-eaſt. There are three breakers within a quarter of a league to the right

of the mouth of the river; but they are no way dangerous to veſſels that enter laveering. Along the banks you behold moſt beautiful meadows abounding with good paſture.

The *river of inhabitants* runs ſix leagues up the country in a ſerpentine courſe; and forms another baſon within half a league of its mouth, where the *burnt iſland* is ſituated. You can proceed no further, not even in boats, becauſe of a fall in the river. The remainder, which is uncultivated, might be turned into delightful meadows; and theſe, together with the beech and fir, would be a great aſſiſtance to the inhabitants, who are no more than thirty in number. One of them has ſet up a mill for ſawing of timber. There are alſo a great many pine trees as well as oak and other good wood. But the land produceth no ſort of grain, except buck-wheat, oats, and rie: ſo that their riches conſiſt intirely in cattle.

Having finiſhed our ſurvey of this ſide of the iſland, we returned the ſame way to

Port

Port Toulouſe. The commiſſioners appointed by count de Raymond, had orders to continue their ſurvey, going round by the other ſide of Louiſburg. But I could not bear them company, being hindered by a violent cold, which obliged me to return. I ſhall therefore be leſs particular in what follows; but I hope you will be ſo good as to excuſe me, eſpecially as I ſhall thereby avoid being tedious; and in the main you can be no loſer; the places that remain undeſcribed, being more thinly inhabited, and leſs reſorted to than thoſe already mentioned. I purpoſe however making you amends in my account of the iſland of St. John, which I have alſo ſurveyed. As it is not ſo well known as Cape Breton, my accuracy in this reſpect will be more acceptable. But I muſt give you time to breathe, and only put you in mind that I am, &c.

LETTER IV.

The same description continued; of the coast to the left, and of the island of St. John.

SIR,

IN consequence of my last, you were no more to expect such a minute description of the island of Cape Breton, as that with which you have been hitherto entertained; yet I shall be so copious, that there will be very little occasion to add any thing further upon the subject. We are now returned to Louisburg, after surveying the coast to the right. We shall next entertain you with what is to be seen to the left. The first place we came to, is Cape Lorenbec, to the north-east, and not a great way from Louisburg. Here is a haven of the same name, and another called the *Balaine*. The entrance of both these harbours is extremely difficult. They admit only of small vessels, and fishing boats, of which there are a great many on the coast. We came next to the little island, called *Portenove*, about two leagues north-east

of

of the light-houſe of Louiſburg, and about a quarter of a league from the coaſt. Between *Portenove* and the land there is a rock under water, on which the king's frigate *Le Chameau* was loſt in 1725. The ſea breaks here in all ſorts of weather. The bay of Menadou, to which we proceeded next, is about half a league in breadth at the entrance, and two in length. Over againſt it lies the iſland of Scatari, from which the bay of Miré is ſeparated only by a narrow neck of land. The figure thereof is nearly triangular. It is about two leagues in length eaſt and weſt, being ſeparated from Cape Breton by an arm of the ſea, about a mile over, called the paſſage of Menadou. Ships of war may paſs this way, without any danger but from the breakers on the ſide of Cape Breton, which are avoided by keeping cloſe to the iſland of Scatari, where they will be extremely ſafe.

Towards the north-eaſt point of Scatari, you perceive two ſmall iſlands, or rather two black rocks, called *Cormandieres*. The

largeſt

largeſt veſſels may approach them with ſafety on the ſide towards the ſea.

The iſland of Scatari is covered with a lighter kind of moſs, than what I obſerved in any other part of the country: wherever you tread, the moſs gives way, as it only covers the ſurface of the water. There is a pretty large ſtream, with ſeveral leſſer rivulets, and different ponds, eſpecially in the eaſtern part. Two families of fiſhermen live upon the iſland.

The bay of Miré is eight leagues in length, and the entrance two in breadth; but it grows narrower afterwards, and receives ſeveral little rivers. Large veſſels run ſix leagues up into it, and find very ſafe anchorage, protected from all weather. Here likewiſe you meet with a great many leſſer iſlands, and with rocks that are viſible at ſome diſtance.

The bay of Morienne lies higher up, being ſeparated from that of Miré by *Cape Brulé**, and a little further on is the *Flat iſland*. Among theſe iſlands and

* *The Burnt Cape.*

rocks,

rocks, there is very good ſhelter for ſhipping.

I ſhall be a little more diffuſe upon what they call the Indian bay, which is diſtant three leagues from thence, aſcending north-weſt. This bay, or rather harbour, is very ſmall, and hardly proper for any other uſe than fiſhing, as it admits only of veſſels of about a hundred and twenty tun. The few inhabitants hereabouts neglect all ſort of agriculture. Yet this is grown a remarkable place, in conſequence of a fort erected here by the Engliſh during the laſt war, at a place called *Cape Coal*, from a *coal-pit* of their diſcovering. This fort was ſo ſtrong, that with fifty men they were able to defend themſelves againſt the incurſions of the ſavages, and to keep poſſeſſion of the pit. It was likewiſe of ſervice to the French, ſince the coals were made uſe of to warm the troops at Louiſburg; and the intendant of the colony frequently gave leave to particular favourites to load their ſhips with it inſtead of ballaſt. But the pit took fire in the ſummer of 1752, and intirely conſumed the fort. The

The Spaniſh bay, ſituate two leagues north of the Indian, is of a conſiderable length, and admits of all ſorts of veſſels. It is divided into two branches, one ſouth and the other weſt. Some of the inhabitants of Acadia have ſettled in this ſpot, and begun to clear the land; yet hitherto it has yielded nothing round the borders of the bay. There is a great deal of wood, and lime-ſtone, with another ſort of ſtone proper for building, and two coal-pits; but there is very little paſturage. From hence to the entrance of the little Labrador it is two leagues; and the iſle of *Verderonne*, which ſeparates it from the wideſt entrance, is as many. This iſland belongs to M. le Poupet de la Boularderie.

Labrador is a kind of a gulph above five and twenty leagues in length, and three or four in breadth. It extends, as hath been already obſerved, from the carriage of Chetekant, very near to Port Touloufe. The banks are covered with different ſorts of trees, and there is a quarry of free-ſtone. Theſe places are all very

proper

proper for the fiſhery (there being great plenty of cod) as well as for the cultivation of different ſorts of grain. And indeed this is the moſt populous part of the iſland. They reckon but a league and a half from the great entrance of Labrador to *Port Dauphin*. Veſſels may anchor very ſafe to the offward among the iſlands of *Ciboux*.

Port Dauphin is a very fine harbour, two leagues in circumference, and was heretofore called Port Saint Anne. It is almoſt entirely ſhut up by a neck of land, which leaves only a paſſage for one veſſel at a time. The ſhips can hardly perceive the leaſt motion of the winds, the grounds, that ſurround it on all ſides, being of ſo great a height: beſides they approach the ſhore as near as they pleaſe without danger; and the harbour is capable of admitting veſſels even of four hundred tun. The bay is capacious enough to contain a thouſand. Before it is the great bay of St. Anne, covered to the ſouth-eaſt by the two iſlands of Ciboux and Cape Dauphin, and

to

to the northward by the coaſt which runs to the north north-eaſt four degrees north in the ſame direction, as far as *Cape Enfumé* *, diſtant ſeven leagues from the entrance of Port Dauphin.

Cape Enfumé is very remarkable, not only by reaſon of its great height, but moreover for two white hills or cliffs to the ſouth-weſt of this cape. Theſe two hills are called the veils of *Cape Enfumé*.

France was long in ſuſpenſe between this and the Engliſh harbour, which of the two ſhe ſhould make the chief ſettlement. From its ſituation and difficulty of acceſs, there is no doubt but it might be rendered impregnable at a very ſmall expence. Yet this very circumſtance made that crown determine on the oppoſite ſide. I believe the French have by this time repented, and will have ſtill more reaſon to repent, their having preferred conveniency to ſecurity. The maintaining of the *Engliſh harbour* is infinitely more expenſive; and we have a melancholy proof of its not being impregnable.

* The Smoky-Cape.

The

The ſtrand of Port Dauphin is of greater extent than that of any other harbour in the iſland; and notwithſtanding that there is plenty of cod-fiſh, yet this is not the only advantage of the place: the neighbourhood of Labrador and Niganiche renders it eaſy for the inhabitants and the ſavages to aſſemble upon neceſſary occaſions.

The veſſels employed in the fiſhery at Niganiche, are obliged by the king's ordonnance, to retire to Port Dauphin towards the 15th of Auguſt, becauſe of the ſtorms that rage in that ſeaſon. When they have got into thoſe harbours, they expoſe the cod-fiſh on ſhore, where nature ſeems to have made a bed for that purpoſe. Sometimes you ſee a hundred and fifty boats employed in this buſineſs.

True it is that even at Port Dauphin, they cannot fiſh in their ſhallops; but ſtill they may make uſe of their ſmaller boats, as in other places. This inconveniency is likewiſe compenſated by the fertility of the land, by the quantity of fine wood, and eſpe-

eſpecially oak. In fine, this harbour, which is only twenty leagues from Louiſburg, furniſhes the latter town with great part of its proviſions, and with a thouſand cords of wood annually for firing.

From Port Dauphin we arrived at Niganiche, which is only a road, where the veſſels are far from being ſafe; but there is great plenty of cod-fiſh. Yet as it muſt be deſerted at a certain ſeaſon, and the country thereabouts is quite barren, there are hardly any dwellings upon the place. Even thoſe few inhabitants are obliged to fetch their wood for firing from Port Dauphin.

Leaving Niganiche we came to the creek of Ouarachouque, and from thence ſucceſſively to the harbour of Aſpe, Cape North, the creek of St. Lawrence, and the cape of the ſame name. Cape North, or the mountain which forms it, is a peninſula joining to the iſland of Cape Breton by a very low neck of land. But none of theſe places are inhabited, or hardly at all frequented, no more than Limbach, the Baſque-creek,

the

the *Salmon-road*, the iſlands of *Loups Marins* and *Juſte-au-corps*; therefore I am of opinion you will approve of my omitting them in the particular deſcription of Cape Breton, of which I am now come to a concluſion.

Perhaps I ought alſo to conclude my letter here, leſt I ſhould confound two different objects; but the opportunity of ſending you my obſervations is ſo precious, and your curioſity ſo great, that I think it incumbent upon me to improve the former, and ſatisfy the latter. Let us therefore proceed directly from Cape Breton to St. John's; and although the ſea ſeparates theſe iſlands, yet the ſame power and intereſt unites them.

St. John's is the largeſt of all the iſlands in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and has even the advantage of Cape Breton in point of fertility. Its length is twenty leagues, and circumference about fifty. It has a ſafe commodious harbour, with plenty of wood, and as great a conveniency for fiſhing as any place on the coaſt. It had been altogether neglected as

well as Cape Breton; when neceſſity having ſhewn the French the utility of the latter, their eyes were alſo opened in regard to the former. They have ſince been at great pains to plant this iſland, though not at enough, conſidering its advantageous ſituation. Having made a voyage upon this coaſt, I ſhall from thence, and not from ſecond hand relations, which are frequently defective, give you a deſcription of this country.

Though the iſland of St. John is ſubject to a particular commandant, he receives his orders from the governor of Cape Breton, and adminiſters juſtice conjunctly with the ſubdelegate of the intendant of New France. They reſide at Port la Joye, and the governor of Louiſburg furniſhes them with a garriſon of fifty or ſixty men.

It was from this place we ſet out in the beginning of the month of Auguſt 1752. We aſcended the river to the north-eaſt up to its very ſource, from whence we proceeded to the harbour of St. Peter, after having made a carriage of four leagues acroſs a plain well cultivated, and abounding with all ſorts of grain. Hav-

Having ſojourned ſome time in this harbour, of which I ſhall give an account hereafter, we ſet ſail for the ſouth ſide, and arrived the ſame day at the creek of *Matieu*. This place is ſituate in the ſouth part of the iſland, within three leagues of the peninſula of the three rivers, and ſix of the eaſt point. It is incloſed to the ſouth by Cape David, and to the north by *Cape de la Souris*, diſtant from each other about a league. It runs about half a league weſt into the land, and is almoſt every where of the ſame breadth. The harbour of *Matieu* has no plantation. It is ſituate northward, and runs weſt a league up the country. Its breadth is very unequal, the greateſt is half a quarter of a league, and that of its channel is about a muſket ſhot, with nine or ten feet at low water.

The harbour of *Fortune* is ſituate at the other extremity of the creek of *Matieu*, and runs up a league ſouth-weſt into the country. It may be about a mile at its greateſt breadth, and is ſeven feet deep at low water upon the bar.

The neighbouring lands are exceeding good, and proper for culture. We found ſeveral ſorts of trees, with a prodigious number of foxes, martens, hares, partridges, which conceal themſelves under ground. The rivers abound in fiſh, and are bordered with paſture-lands that produce exceeding good graſs. I confeſs there is no great plenty of it, yet the quantity might be improved by carrying thoſe meadows up to the riſing grounds, which are extremely fit for this purpoſe. The inhabitants came over here from Acadia during the laſt war, and are about eight and forty in number.

We ſet out from the harbour of *Fortune*, directing our courſe towards the eaſt point, and after doubling the point of the creek of *Matieu*, we proceeded ſomewhat to the offward of the harbour *De la Souris*. The latter runs northward a league and a half into the country, and extends an arm towards the eaſtward. The entrance is practicable only for ſmall boats, of the burden of three or four cords of wood. From thence we proceeded to two ſmall creeks,

diſtant from each other a league and a half; one of theſe runs weſt, and the other north-weſt. You cannot get thither but in a ſhallop or a canoe. There is very little graſs upon this ſpot; but the riſing grounds ſeem to be very proper for cultivation. They are covered with all ſorts of trees proper for building.

Within two leagues of theſe ſmall harbours, we came to that of *L'Eſcouſſier*, the entrance of which runs north and ſouth. It is of a middling breadth, and divides itſelf into two branches, which run eaſt and weſt. The entrance of that to the right is a league in length, and a quarter in breadth; that to the left is three quarters of a league.

This harbour is capable only of receiving ſmall boats; but its banks are adorned with beautiful meadows. It was formerly no more than a creek, but the winds and high tides have raiſed the downs, which part it from the ſea. After coaſting for about two leagues, we doubled the eaſt point, which we found deſerted, becauſe a fire had obliged the inhabitants to abandon it, in

order to go and ſettle two leagues further upon the north ſide. The place they have taken ſhelter at, is a great deal more convenient than that from which they were burnt out. They may clear a good deal of land, which they have already begun to do, as far as their exceſſive poverty, occaſioned by this incident, will permit them. Their number is two and twenty in all.

We continued our courſe for ſix leagues, till we arrived at the *Pool de Naufrage* *. The coaſt, though very level, preſents the eye with nothing but a country laid waſte by fire; and further on it is covered with beech. We met with but one inhabitant, who told us that the lands about the pool are exceeding good, and eaſy to cultivate; and that every thing grows there in great plenty. Of this he gave us a demonſtration, which afforded us a ſingular pleaſure; this was a ſmall quantity of wheat which he had ſown that year; and indeed nothing could be more beautiful than the ears, which were larger, longer, and fuller than any I had ſeen in Europe.

* *The Pool of Shipwreck.* This

This place took the name of *Pool de Naufrage*, from a French ſhip that had been caſt away upon the coaſt. The veſſel was loſt four leagues out at ſea; but a few paſſengers ſaved themſelves upon the wreck, and were the firſt that ſettled at the harbour of St. Peter. The pool runs a quarter of a league ſouth-weſt into the country. Its breadth at the further extremity may be about the reach of a four pounder. It receives a large rivulet, which derives its courſe from two ſprings, diſtant two leagues and a half weſt ſouth-weſt up the country. This rivulet is capable of ſupplying a ſufficiency of water, almoſt in all weathers, even in ſpite of the froſt, by means of ſeveral mills conſtructed for that purpoſe.

The coaſt all along from the harbour of *Fortune* to that of St. Peter, where we arrived the fourteenth of Auguſt, after cruizing ſix leagues from the time we left the pool, ſwarms with all ſorts of game, and with variety of the very beſt fiſh. This abundance was a great relief to the poor wretches who were ſhipwrecked on that coaſt,

as I have already obſerved: but Heaven did not pity them by halves; for the ſavages, at that time the only inhabitants of the place, became civilized for their ſake, and helped them to ſettle and maintain themſelves on the iſland. They even gave them ſhare of their chace, which at that time conſiſted chiefly in otters and muſk rats.

The harbour of St. Peter is ſituate on the north part of the iſland. The mouth is choaked up by ſands, and lies eaſt and ſouth. Its greateſt breadth may be about half a mile. The channel lying north and ſouth-eaſt, is quite ſafe at high water. It is every where fifteen or ſixteen feet deep, conſequently navigable for veſſels drawing ten or twelve feet.

In order to render this a commodious harbour, I think they ſhould raiſe, from the foot of the eaſt downs to the borders of the channel, a cauſey of ſufficient height to force the waters of the currents as well as the river, through the channel, and prevent them from ſpreading over the lands; to the end that the rapidity of the current

might

might carry away the bar, which ſtops up the mouth of the harbour.

The fiſhery is carried on here with the ſame ſucceſs as at the harbour of St. Peter. The cod is even of a larger ſize than that on the coaſt of Cape Breton, and is caught in greater plenty; but it is difficult to cure, which obliges the fiſhermen to carry a large quantity of it to the other iſlands of America. I think it would anſwer very well to ſalt and barrel it directly, and then ſend it to Europe.

The plantation of the harbour of St. Peter is of great conſequence, as well in regard to the fiſhery, as to the commerce which the inhabitants may carry on in the interior parts of the iſland. But to render it more ſolid and durable, they ſhould attend to the eſſential part, namely to agriculture and paſturage, for the breeding and maintaining of all ſorts of cattle, and eſpecially ſheep. By keeping them together in folds, the upper lands might be improved, and meadows and corn-fields laid out; from whence the inhabitants would reap a plenti-

ful

ful harveſt of all kinds of grain. For if they had but the proper means of making theſe improvements, their own lands would abundantly ſupply all their wants, and they would be beholding to foreigners for nothing but ſalt, lines, hooks, and other fiſhing tackle. They might then diſpoſe of their fiſh at a lower price, which would greatly increaſe their wealth. Here they have likewiſe a vaſt quantity of plaice, thornbacks, barbels, mackerels, and herrings. In ſeveral pools and lakes along the downs, they have excellent trouts, and ſuch a prodigious multitude of eels, that three men might fill three hogſheads of them in four and twenty hours. Laſtly, you meet here, as well as in other parts of the iſland, with great plenty of game, particularly ortolans, and white rabbets of a moſt delicate taſte. It is not therefore at all ſurprizing that ſo plentiful a country ſhould abound more than any other part with inhabitants. In this harbour only we reckoned three hundred and thirty nine.

It is true that ſome of theſe, though

ranked

ranked among the inhabitants of the harbour of St. Peter, have their plantations about the harbour of the *Savages*, which is diſtant only a league from the former.

The harbour of the *Savages* advances half a league ſouth into the country, and is divided into two branches. One runs a quarter of a league ſouth ſouth-weſt; at the further end there is a brook with a mill for grinding of corn; the other runs half a league weſt north-weſt. Near this haven grows the beſt wheat in the iſland.

From thence we proceeded three leagues further to the harbour of *Tracadie*, and found the ſame conveniency for fiſhing, and agriculture; ſo that the inhabitants ſeem to be very much at their eaſe, the natural conſequence of induſtry.

The entrance of the harbour of *Tracadie* is formed by a cut of the downs at both extremities, eaſt and weſt. Their diſtance is half a quarter of a league. The breadth of the channel is ſixty fathoms; and it runs north north-eaſt, and ſouth ſouth-weſt. It is of equal depth throughout,

that

that is, ſixteen feet at high water. At the mouth there is a bar of ſand, which runs eaſt and weſt, and prevents veſſels that draw above eleven or twelve feet, from entering. The harbour however is handſome and ſpacious, running two leagues eaſtward behind the downs, and a league ſouth into the country. The breadth of it is the ſame to the further extremity. The weſtern coaſt is the only part inhabited, and has very handſome cauſeys. The neighbouring country is covered with trees of all ſorts; and the borders are alſo embelliſhed with meadows, which produce abundance of paſture.

In this harbour, and in the *Shepherds pool* belonging to it, we reckoned ſeventy ſeven inhabitants. From thence we ſet out for Malpec.

I believe, Sir, I need not tell you, that in theſe calculations I never included the ſavages. In all probability you will expect that I ſhall give you a ſeparate article in regard to theſe poor people. Indeed you are in the right, and I have taken this

ſtep,

ſtep, in order to methodize what I have to obſerve upon the ſubject. But I have ſaid enough for the preſent; and ſince the compaſs of a letter will not permit me to finiſh the deſcription of the iſland of St. John; it is far preferable to defer the remainder of my taſk to another opportunity. I muſt therefore beg to be excuſed, if the deſire of making you acquainted with an iſland hitherto but very little known, lays me under the neceſſity of engaging a little more of your time. Yet I grant you a truce for the preſent, upon condition that the leſs I ſpare you hereafter, the more you will believe me to be,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER V.

Deſcription of the iſland of St. John continued, and of its productions.

SIR,

THIS ſequel of the deſcription of the iſland of St. John will come into your hands at the ſame time as the former part;

part; becauſe the ſhip that was to convey my laſt, has made a longer ſtay than I expected. We left off at our ſetting out from Tracadie for Malpec: here we ſhall take up our narrative again, and continue the voyage.

From Tracadie we ſet out the twenty ſecond of Auguſt, in very bad weather; and after an hour's ſailing, we found ourſelves in the middle of the harbour of *Little Racico*. The entrance lies north north-eaſt, and ſouth ſouth-weſt, and is practicable only for boats at high water, and in very fair weather.

The country round about this harbour is proper for culture, and covered with all ſorts of fine timber. But what is very remarkable, there is a conveniency here for building of large veſſels, ſhallops, and canoes.

The badneſs of the weather obliged us to put into the harbour of *Great Racico*, the entrance of which is a hundred and twenty fathoms in breadth north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt. It has two branches, one of

which

which advances eaſt ſouth-eaſt about three leagues on the ſide of *Little Rocico*, and the other runs half a league ſouth-weſt. Theſe two rivers are extremely rapid: their banks are covered with timber; and they might likewiſe have mills for ſawing, and for grinding of corn.

After having made ſome ſtay in this harbour, we departed from thence the twenty third, with the wind at north north-weſt, which roſe ſo high as obliged us to put into the little harbour. The entrance is ſituated north north-eaſt, and ſouth ſouth-weſt. The breadth of it may be a hundred and eighty fathoms, and its channel ſeventy. You find throughout a depth of eleven or twelve feet, at high water. There are likewiſe ſome remains of a ſettlement, and even of a fiſhery about this place: the latter might be ſtill continued, ſince the fiſhing boats would be perfectly ſafe becauſe of a kind of gulph, from whence a river is formed, that runs above a league ſouth ſouth-weſt up the country. This harbour receives two great

ſtreams,

ſtreams, which come from the inner part of the iſland, weſt ſouth-weſt. They are ſo very rapid, and their banks are covered with ſuch fine timber, that mills might be eaſily erected on this ſpot.

The wind having chopped about, we ſet ſail for Malpec, where we arrived that evening, after having enjoyed a proſpect of a charming coaſt, decorated with meadows, and beautiful trees. But we were greatly incommoded with *maringoins* or gnats, whoſe ſtings are more pungent here than any other part of the country. There are ſuch ſwarms of theſe inſects, and they bite with ſuch venom and fury, that perſons not accuſtomed to their inſolence, are apt to loſe all patience.

The harbour of Malpec is within ſixteen leagues of that of St. Peter. It is ſituate on the north coaſt, and very convenient for the cod-fiſhery, nature having formed ſeveral ſmall iſlands, as well as ſtrands adapted for drying it; and beſides, there is a briſk ſharp air proper for the purpoſe. It is therefore a convenient ſpot for this kind

kind of commerce, and theſe little iſlands contribute to the ſecurity of the harbour.

Malpec has four different entrances. The firſt to the weſtward, is formed by the ſouth-weſt point, ſituate on the *grande terre* of the iſland of St. John, and by the north-eaſt point of the little iſland of the eaſt entrance. The diſtance from one point to another is eſtimated at three quarters of a league, and runs north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt. Veſſels that draw twelve or thirteen feet water are obliged to laveer the ſpace of a quarter of a league between the two points, where you have generally three fathoms at low water.

The ſecond entrance which lies north north-eaſt, and ſouth ſouth-weſt, is formed by the weſt north-weſt point of the little iſle of entrance, and that of the eaſt ſouth-eaſt point of the north. This is wider than the other. The channel may be three hundred and fifty fathoms in breadth, five or ſix in depth at the loweſt ebb, and ſeven at high water. None but theſe two entrances admit of all ſorts of veſſels; the other two are only for ſhallops and canoes.

The iſle of *Savages* lies between the eaſt and north-weſt entrances. Its ſituation renders it extremely convenient for the reception of veſſels into the harbour, as well as for the ſafety of anchorage; therefore whenever they intend to make either of theſe two entrances, they ſhould turn their head to the iſle of *Savages*. We made uſe of this precaution, by means of which a veſſel is always certain of riding ſafe in the middle of the channel.

There is a ſecond iſland weſt ſouth-weſt of that of the *Savages*. The latter was reſigned intirely to them, and is three quarters of a league diſtant from the former. It makes the eaſt north-weſt, and may be about a league and a half in circumference. The lands are high, and covered with beech.

The rapidity of the currents of this haven, hath forced the three different entrances here mentioned. That further on to the weſt, was not formed before 1759, when a violent ſtorm beat off the ſands; and the ſtrength of the currents has hin-

dered

dered them ſince from returning. From the north-weſt point it is two leagues and a quarter; and from the eaſt and north-weſt to the bottom of the bay we reckoned two leagues. They go up with veſſels from a hundred to a hundred and fifty tun. The harbour is divided into two branches; the firſt runs about a league ſouth ſouth-weſt; and at the further extremity there is a little river, which riſeth half a league within the ſouth lands. The ſecond runs three leagues weſt ſouth-weſt. Small veſſels may aſcend it the ſpace of two leagues.

Keeping along the weſt point we arrived at a kind of canal, which runs north-weſt as far as the harbour of Cachecampec. It admits only of ſmall veſſels, and forms a communication betwixt the two harbours, diſtant from each other ſix leagues.

The lands adjacent to the harbour of Malpec are of a ſuperior quality to thoſe of St. Peter, and indeed by far the beſt of the whole iſland of St. John. The banks of the rivers are covered with all ſorts of beautiful trees. Between this and the harbour

of Cacheçampec there is a large grove of cedars, above three leagues in circumference. There are two ſorts of cedar-trees, white and red; the white is the largeſt, and ſerves to make ſhingles or coverings of houſes, incloſures, &c. The wood is extremely light; and diſtils a kind of incenſe, but bears no fruit like the cedar of mount Libanus. The fragrancy is in the leaves: that of the red cedar is in the wood, and far more agreeable.

The Acadian women are accuſtomed to chew this incenſe, which preſerves their teeth, and makes them look exceeding white. In the neighbourhood they have likewiſe diſcovered a particular kind of clay, proper for making of bricks. They have alſo great plenty of all ſorts of game. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the inhabitants are by unforeſeen accidents reduced to great miſery; for which reaſon they ought, in my opinion, to be allowed the privilege of fiſhing. It is a miſtake to imagine that this method of ſubſiſting would make them indiligent with regard to agriculture. The har-

harbours of St. Peter and Tracadie are proofs of the contrary. It is even demonſtrable that the fiſhery is a ſure means of promoting tillage, becauſe it enables thoſe who follow it, to maintain domeſtics and cattle, without which the lands muſt needs remain uncultivated. Neither is this the only advantage they would reap from the fiſhery; for the ſtock of dry cod which they would keep by them, together with the adventitious helps of milk, butter, and cheeſe, would ſupply any ſcarcity in bad years, and repair the damage done to the grain by locuſts and field-mice. Theſe animals are the ſcourge of the country. Whenever there happens to be plenty of beech-maſt, the field-mice come out of their lurking places, and devour whatever they find either in the woods or the open fields; and after every thing is conſumed, they ruſh headlong into the ſea, where in all probability they expect to find ſome nouriſhment. In rainy weather, or in caſe of inundations of rivers, or of thick fogs, the field-mice are ſucceeded by locuſts,

which commit the like devaſtation. Theſe misfortunes frequently reduce the inhabitants, who are two hundred in number, to great miſery; and ſuch indeed was their condition, when we happened to be among them.

From Malpec we ſet out in a canoe, and after croſſing a bay three leagues, we landed near a ſmall rivulet, intirely fed by the filtration of the waters, which lodge themſelves in this low marſhy neighbourhood. From thence we directed our courſe by a way that begins at the bottom of the rivulet, and runs a league to the ſouth-weſt. The earth was covered with beech, and eſpecially with a prodigious quantity of French-beans, and a kind of pine-trees. At length we arrived at Bedec.

The harbour of Bedec is inhabited by eight families, which by our computation made four and forty ſouls. It is ſituate on the ſouth ſide of the iſland within ſixteen leagues of *Port de la Joye*, and eighteen of the Green-bay of Acadia. The ſoil is very proper for culture; and the borders are

adorned

adorned with beautiful meadows. The entrance is formed by the point of the iſle of Bedec upon the lands eaſtward, and by the weſt north-weſt point upon thoſe to the weſt. Theſe two points being ſouth-eaſt, and weſt north-weſt, are three quarters of a league diſtant from each other. The channel, ſituate north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, may be about a quarter of a league in breadth, and from four to five fathoms depth at low water. After doubling the iſle of Bedec, the harbour divides itſelf into two branches; one runs north-eaſt about a league and a half, the other ſouth-eaſt three quarters of a league. In both you may caſt anchor in four or five fathoms at low water: but for greater ſafety you had better move to the ſouth-weſt ſide, which is thoroughly protected from the wind.

Leaving the harbour of Bedec, we followed the coaſt, and reached the *Traverſe river*, where we reckoned only three and twenty inhabitants, but obſerved that the banks were covered with very good paſture.

From thence we proceeded to the *River aux blonds*, following the coaſt for three leagues. This ſtream runs up the country four leagues north. The inhabitants, to the number of thirty ſeven, are ſettled on both ſides a league from the mouth. Thoſe lands which we ſaw cultivated, promiſe very fair; and thoſe untilled are covered with timber. This river is navigable only for boats, and its banks are enriched with excellent paſture.

Keeping along the coaſt we arrived at the *River of toads*, where we found but thirteen inhabitants, and nothing remarkable. From thence we proceeded to the creek north-weſt. The coaſt all along is very low, and covered with plenty of timber. Here we reckoned thirty inhabitants. We left this place to return to *Port de la Foye*, from which we were diſtant no more than three leagues: but before this we landed at the *Creek of the wild boar*, in order to ſee ten poor inhabitants, whoſe miſery greatly excited our compaſſion.

From the *Traverſe river* to *Port de la Foye*, the coaſt ſwarms with all ſorts of wild fowl, eſpeci-

eſpecially with vaſt multitudes of buſtards, *crevans* *, and teals. There are a great many beautiful meadows that produce good crops of hay, and might even furniſh a ſufficient quantity for the remainder of the iſland, if they would but undertake to mow it. Yet it would be more proper to increaſe the number of inhabitants, eſpecially towards the north-weſt creek.

In the woods you meet with a vaſt number of foxes, martens, and hares, but very few partridges; however, you are made amends by the woodcocks, which keep together in numerous flocks, and ſometimes are ſo tame, and fly ſo near the ground, that you may knock them down with ſtones. The plenty of ſhell-fiſh is likewiſe a great relief to the inhabitants.

We are now returned to *Port de la Joye*, of which I ſhall give you a ſketch. This harbour, called the creek of *Point prime*, is formed by a point of this name, ſituate on the lands ſouth ſouth-eaſt of the entrance of the port, and by the north-weſt

* A kind of wild fowl peculiar to that country.

point,

point, ſituate on the lands north north-weſt of the ſaid entrance. Theſe two points are the ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt. The diſtance from one to the other in a direct line is ſeven leagues and a half, with two in depth, and ſeven in circumference.

The channel is ſituate north north-eaſt, and ſouth ſouth-weſt of the entrance, and runs up to *Port de la Joye*. The depth is generally from ſeven to eight fathoms at low water, and in ſome places nine. The breadth, though variable, is reckoned a quarter of a league.

The moſt ſkillful pilots of the country affirm, that when you are in five fathoms water, you have not as yet entered the right channel, but that you ſhould ſail near the wind, according to what direction you are in. Upon your entrance you leave the *Governor's iſland* to the right; but take care of the ſhoals, which run out conſiderably into the main, and are a large cluſter of rocks. The *Governor's iſland* is of a round figure, about a league and a half in circumference, and half a league in

breadth.

breadth. There is a great deal of timber of different ſorts, and vaſt plenty of game.

To the left alſo upon your entrance, you leave the iſland of the Count of St. Peter, which is much more acceſſible than the *Governor's iſland*, the ſhore being very level. It is a quarter of a league long, and four hundred fathoms broad, being covered with pine and fir-trees. You may even wade over the bar, as it is quite dry at low water, beginning from the north-weſt point. Upon this bar and all along the banks of the iſland, there is a prodigious quantity of buſtards, *crevans*, and woodcocks.

Port de la Joye is ſituated at the bottom of the creek of *La Joye*, five leagues from *Point prime*, making the circuit from point to point. It is formed by the Raſberry point, ſituate on the lands to the eaſtward, and by the point *A la flame*, ſituate on thoſe to the weſt. Theſe two points lie eaſt north-eaſt, and weſt ſouth-weſt. The diſtance between them is but a quarter of a league. The channel that runs juſt in the middle between the two points, may be three hun-

dred

dred fathoms, where it is wideſt at low water.

The road is a quarter of a league from the entrance, between thoſe two points, diſtant one from the other a quarter of a league. There is good holding ground in nine fathoms, and a miry bottom. Three rivers diſembogue themſelves into this road, from the weſt, north, and north-eaſt.

The mouth of the weſt river is formed by one of the latter points, ſituate to the left aſcending, and by the north point at the diſtance of a quarter of a league. This river runs four leagues into the land, and is almoſt every where of the ſame breadth.

The mouth of the north-eaſt river is formed by the north point of the weſt river, and by the eaſt point of this north river, diſtant from each other a quarter of a league. It runs four leagues up the country.

The north-eaſt river is formed by a point towards the entrance to the right, and by the eaſt point of the north river. Theſe two points are north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt, and the diſtance from one to the other is nine hundred fathoms. This river runs

nine

nine leagues up the country. It is one of the beſt planted ſtreams in the whole iſland; and not without good reaſon, for the ſoil being light and ſomewhat ſandy, is the more proper for culture.

After taking a view of all thoſe places, we arrived at the river of the Great Aſcenſion, three leagues ſouth of *Port de la Joye*. It is formed by the weſt point and that of the birch-trees, ſituate on the lands to the eaſtward. They are diſtant from each other a quarter of a league. This river divides itſelf into three branches, which run eaſt, north, and weſt, about three quarters of a league. They are navigable for ſmall veſſels. At the further extremity of the north-weſt branch, a little rivulet joins this ſtream, and is of ſufficient rapidity for erecting a ſaw-mill upon this ſpot, eſpecially as there is plenty of wood at hand. All theſe places are more or leſs inhabited, in proportion to the goodneſs of the ſoil: but as the people live at ſome diſtance from one another, as well as from *Port de la Joye*; when I have concluded my account of ſuch places

as

as merit attention, I ſhall give you our calculation of the number of inhabitants. After ſurveying the rivers above mentioned, we went to the little river of Peugiguit, from thence to the river of the *Saw-mill*, and thence to the *River of Whites*, and in each place we took notice of the habitations, till at length we arrived at the *Baſh-creek*, ſituate on the river to the north-eaſt, and from thence to the *Dead-creek*, to the *Little Aſcenſion*, and to the *Pirogues*.

Leaving the *Pirogues*, we ſet ſail for the *Count of St. Peter's creek*, doubling the points of *Marguerite* and *Framboiſe*, and arrived there in half an hour. The country round this place is pretty good, but there are no paſture grounds, conſequently no cattle. They have the ſame want at the creek of the *Pirogues*, which is ſupplied from the *Little Aſcenſion*.

At a ſmall diſtance from *Count St. Peter's creek*, we found that of the *Seamen*. They are both ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the bay of *Port de la Joye*. I do not intend to ſend you a deſcription of them, ſince they

are remarkable only for their populoſity. The coaſt on this ſide is ſeparated from the north-eaſt river by a very thick wood, which makes their diſtance from two to ſeven leagues. In the middle of this wood is the royal road of the three rivers. It was undertaken by Count de Raymond, and beginning from point *Marguerite*, was carried on as far as the peninſula of the three rivers. A very good ſettlement might be made on this part of the iſland, if fine woods, pleaſant meadows, fruitful lands, plenty of game and fiſh, can be any encouragement to planters.

After having been to ſee the *Creek of the ſeamen*, and the *little moraſs*, we ſet out from the latter, diſtant two leagues from *Port de la Joye*, and keeping cloſe to the coaſt, which is very low, and covered with all ſorts of wood, we arrived at the large creek, and directed our courſe by the *Great Aſcenſion*. On the banks of this river, which hath been already deſcribed, we found ſome timber proper for ſhip-building.

Having paſſed the *Point of the birch-trees*,

Point

Point prime, and *pinette*, we came to the laſt plantation in the iſland; and in all theſe different places, including *Port de la Joye*, we reckoned a thouſand three hundred and fifty four inhabitants.

Though the ſettlements on the iſland of St. John increaſe every day by the arrival of Acadians and others, yet a conſiderable quantity of land, as good as that we have been deſcribing, remains ſtill uncultivated. There is no doubt but the ſame advantage might be derived from this, as from any other part; and with a little care this iſland might be rendered as ſerviceable as Acadia.

Indeed the winter is very long, and the cold intenſe. If you ſtir out in the froſt, you are in danger of periſhing in a quarter of an hour; and the ſnow falls ſo heavy, that it frequently lies four feet deep in four and twenty hours. Flies and muſquetoes are likewiſe a great inconveniency. Theſe abominable inſects darken the air, and faſten themſelves on the leaves of trees, eſpecially in the woods;

woods; yet it has been observed, that in proportion as the lands are manured, and the country is peopled, the number of these insects diminishes. But granting they are very troublesome, I want to know what place in the world, is exempt from all inconvenience? And is not this we have been mentioning, sufficiently compensated by the advantages that might easily be derived from so promising a colony? Sure I am, that notwithstanding this barren description, you would be glad to peruse it regularly once a week, on condition of being invested with the property of the island of St. John; and you would soon find your account. I wish it with all my heart, and am,

SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER VI.

Of the different animals on both islands; of the cod-fishery; of the French manner of curing it, and of the glue made of fish, &c.

SIR,

PUrsuant to the order I proposed at first setting out, it is incumbent upon me,

after giving you a deſcription of the iſland of St. John, to entertain you with that of the inhabitants. In this number I include all animated bodies. But in order to preſerve the gradation in which nature has placed the human ſpecies, I ſhall begin with that being, to which we have given the name of animal by way of preference, though it too often happens that the diſtinction is only verbal.

You have not loſt memory of the honourable mention I made of domeſtic animals, in taking notice of the labour of their maſters. There are horned cattle and beaſts of burden in this country, and much of the ſame form and make as thoſe in Europe. They likewiſe enjoy in part the fruit of their labour; though there is no merit in the indulgence, becauſe it is neceſſary, and attended with greater advantages here than any where elſe. The manuring of waſte lands, and the changing them into gardens or ploughed fields, requires that a proper care ſhould be taken of the uſeful animals employed for this pur-

purpose; and paſture found for their ſubſiſtence. It remains therefore that I ſay ſomething to you of thoſe animals, for which we have no manner of regard, though they contribute to our food and raiment. There are ſome you are not acquainted with, of which number is the beaver, and I make no doubt but you would be glad to have ſome knowledge of thoſe animals. Indeed the accounts that have been given of them is not at all fabulous. Nothing can be compared to their ſagacity and artful contrivance. I muſt confeſs that upon obſerving the order, induſtry, and exact ſubordination that prevails among them, I have ſaid to myſelf, though theſe creatures have not perhaps a ſoul like ours, ſurely with ſo unerring an inſtinct they are no great loſers. Yet inſtead of admiring them for arts which we have only borrowed of them, we go and diſturb them in the midſt of their work, in which they diſplay all the ingenuity of able architects. Indeed I am oftentimes grieved at this, and I had much rather be without knowing that their

skin is of use for covering my head and feet, or for other purposes, and that their flesh is of a delicate taste, than be so ill-natured as to disturb them. But since it is not in my power to preserve them from so cruel a fate, I must benefit by their misfortunes like the rest of mankind; and indeed the savages would still continue to destroy them here and in other places, were I to preach for ever against their barbarity.

I shall much more readily resign all the large game, the hunting of which is the favourite and almost only occupation of those people. Their bears are much the same as those in Europe; some of them are white. Their fat, or rather their oil, is very good to eat; and the flesh of the young bears is a perfect dainty.

The *orignal* is as large as a mule, with very thick hair, of a dark brown colour in summer, and almost intirely white in winter. A great many are of opinion that this is the same animal as in other places is called the elk.

The *caribou* is a kind of deer, whose head, as well as that of the orignal, is ornamented with very large horns like a ſtag, and the branches are almoſt flat. The fleſh of this beaſt is eatable, but they prefer that of the orignal; and indeed it makes as good ſoop as beef. As there is no ſpecies of animal, but what hath its natural enemy, beſides man, that of the orignal is the *quincajou*. This creature reſembles a large cat; his hair is of a red brown; and the tail ſo very long, that when he turns it up, it makes two or three curls on his back. This is his offenſive weapon. With it he entwines the poor animal, after firſt ſeizing him with his paws, then he bites him in the neck under the ear, and does not let go his hold, till the orignal drops down dead. But do not imagine that the *quincajou* alone has the honour of an engagement, in appearance ſo unequal; he acts in conjunction with the fox, who facilitates the attack by ſurprizing or decoying the enemy. Thus you ſee it is not our ſpecies alone that gets the better of force by cun-

ning and stratagem: nature is uniform throughout the whole range of beings; and doubtless to render us more sensible of her liberality in the dispensation of favours, she distributes evil with the same impartiality. The savages have a surprising acuteness in tracing the original. They can distinguish by the scent whether it be male or female, young or old, and at what distance; neither do they lose scent of it, even if they were to follow it several days.

They reduce the bones of this animal to a powder, and afterwards boil it in water. They gather the fat, that comes upon the surface, and from thence extract five or six pounds of a kind of tallow, as white as snow, and as firm as wax. This is their provision when they are upon the chace: they call it *racomi*, and we *original butter*.

They have a great number of lynxes, whose flesh tastes like veal. Their porcupines, otters, martens, *wisons*, *pichous*, roebucks, and musk-rats, are not only very good eatings, but afford excellent furs. I shall wave giving you a description of these ani-

animals; this has been done to your hand by ſuch a number of authors, that the repetition would be altogether needleſs.

With regard to ſmall game, they have plenty of turtle-doves, and of excellent quality in July and Auguſt; as alſo black-birds, *pieds-rouges*, and larks, with *corbejeaux*, very neat as large as wood-cocks, with much the ſame beak, and three ſorts of partridges; the firſt like ours, the ſecond as big as a pheaſant, and the third ſomething like a water-wag-tail. Their ortolans are as good as thoſe in Provence. Their hares are ſmaller than thoſe in France, grey in ſummer, and white in winter. As for ſnipes and wood-cocks, I obſerved to you already that they have their ſhare.

The coaſt round theſe iſlands ſwarms a part of the year, eſpecially in ſpring and autumn, with all ſorts of wild fowl, as buſtards, *crevans*, cormorants, wild-ducks, *canards branchus*, a very fine bird, teal, *ravaques*, *cacadus*, *marabous*, *eredos*, *canards de roches*, *goelans*, *eſterlets*, *mergots*, *godes*,

sea pigeons, *peringuins* *, and a great many other sorts, the names of which I omit for brevity, intending to make you acquainted with them when you are upon the spot. Yet I will mention a word or two in particular of some of those animals.

The bustard lays its eggs only every other year, and changes its feathers during the year of repose; but as it does not begin to hatch till its fourth year, in order to repair the loss of time, it lays fifteen or sixteen eggs at a time. Unfortunately it builds its nest in low marshy places, and great numbers of them are destroyed by the foxes. It grows as tame as a goose, and then it is much better eating than those wild birds of the same species.

The *cnevant* is a bird of passage, smaller than the bustard, and better eating than a wild duck. The *gosland* is bigger than a pigeon, and lives upon fish. The eggs of these birds are very good to eat, except those of the cormorant.

All these different sorts of birds fly over

* The above birds are local and confined to that country, so that we have no English names for them.

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in large flocks to the *iſlands of birds*, which belong to the Engliſh, in order to lay their eggs there in the ſpring. They generally range themſelves on the white point within a quarter of a league of Louiſburg. There is then ſuch plenty of game, that you may hear a thouſand muſket ſhots in a day.

This kind of ſport is a great relief to the inhabitants, who are generally in want of freſh proviſions this time of the year, though moſt of theſe wild-fowls have a kind of oily taſte, owing to the fiſh and the *goimond*, their conſtant food. The *goimond* is a large glutinous weed, of a yellow brown, which the ſea throws up along the coaſt.

Fiſh being one of the chief productions of theſe iſlands, deſerves our particular notice, eſpecially the cod-fiſh, which is the principal ſupport of their trade.

The rivers and lakes in the inner parts of theſe iſlands, abound with very good ſalmon, trout, eels and ſmelts; the ſea produceth thorn-back, tench, plenty of ſhad-fiſh, ſturgeon, plaice, mackerel, ga-

Spurlins, a species of mackerel, but something smaller; base as firm and as large as pike, and the flesh as firm and as white; herrings on the side of Labrador, whales, oysters, lobsters, muscles, cockles, &c.

All along the coast they catch plenty of sea-wolves, porpoises, sea-cows, and sometimes whales. From these fishes they extract the oil, and another thing, the use of which you are as well acquainted with as I.

There have been instances of a glue made of *requins*; and it is presumed they might extract it from all sorts of rough-skinned fish, as well as from porpoise, cuttle-fish, sea-monsters, and other fish without scales. As the method of preparing it is very little known, I shall make you acquainted with it; and this I can affirm, that if ever you come to use it here, you will find it will answer your expectation. And indeed if they were to apply themselves hard to this kind of glue, France might soon dispense with that which at present she is obliged to import from Holland and the Levant. Though the subject

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at first sight seems to be but of small importance, yet it will appear in a different light to those, who know of what consequence it is to a kingdom, not to be obliged for necessaries to any other country whatever.

They take the skins of the abovementioned fishes, with their fins, tails, heads, cartilages, in short the whole body of the fish, except the flesh and the fat or oil. All these they boil in water, taking care to preserve it from the smoke, or from any thing that might discolour the liquor. When it is boiled down, and the water has extracted all the substance of the fishy parts, they let it stand to grow cool, and then strain the liquor either through a sieve or a piece of linnen. Then they boil this liquor over again with the same precaution, till the drops that fall grow hard and consistent as soon as they cool. When they can judge from thence that the glue is made, they let it cool a little, but not so as to hinder it from running on the tables of stone or slate upon which they pour it.

For want of such convenience, several other things may be contrived to receive it, taking care however to put paper over it, and to raise the edges of the paper, because the glue ought to spread itself, and to rise without fastening to any other substance. As soon as it is become consistent, it is twisted round like paste, and stringed in order to hang up in rows in the shade: and when they are obliged to make it upon paper it is not taken off, but they either twist the paper along with the glue, or else they do not twist it at all.

The glue made in this manner is more or less perfect, according as they take more or less care to clarify it, and make it keep its colour. It entirely dissolves in water, without leaving the least mark behind it.

But since I have begun to reveal our secrets, I must inform you of the manner in which we cure our cod, which we catch in shallops during the summer; and you will soon perceive that it is preferable to that of our neighbours.

The shallops come ashore every day,

and

and the fiſhermen throw the cod upon a ſtage prepared for that purpoſe. One of them, who is called the beheader, opens the fiſh with a two-edged knife, ſharp-pointed; then he breaks the head, and parts it from the body. Another puſhes the fiſh on to the carver, who ſtands oppoſite to him at a table erected upon the ſtage. The latter with a ſingle edged knife, ſix inches long, eighteen lines in breadth, and very thick towards the back in order to increaſe its weight, draws the ſkin off two-thirds of the body near the head, and lets the cod tumble into a barrel. The ſalter immediately draws it aſide, and places it with the ſkin undermoſt. Then he covers it with ſalt, but very ſlightly, and lays the fiſh regularly one upon another.

After leaving the cod in ſalt three or four days, and ſometimes eight or longer, according to the ſeaſon, they put it into a tub, and waſh it well. Afterwards they heap it up in piles, which they call *pair* or *arime*. In fine weather they ſtretch it out with the ſkin undermoſt, on a kind of

wattles

wattles called *vigneaux*, raiſed about two feet from the ground, or upon ſtones called *graves*. Before night they turn the ſkin uppermoſt, which they alſo do whenever it rains. When the fiſh hath been dried a little, it is laid in bundles of five or ſix, always with the ſkin uppermoſt in the night time and in bad weather. Thus it continues to lie for a ſhorter or longer time, according as the weather permits, till it is half dry. Then it is raiſed into orbicular piles, or in the form of pigeon-houſes. In this poſition it continues for ſome days, after which it is expoſed to the open air, and turned according as there is occaſion, before they raiſe it into large piles in the ſame form, in which manner it ſometimes remains fifteen days without being either turned or ſtretched out. Once more they expoſe it to the open air, and when it is almoſt dry, they gather it together, in order to ſweat. Then they remove it again to another place, an operation which the French call *recapiler*.

In ſhort, the cod cured in this manner,

is generally fair to the eye and good to the taſte, more or leſs however according to the time that has been beſtowed, and to the ability and diligence of the perſon employed in the preparation.

The fiſh cured in ſpring and before the great heats is commonly the faireſt to the eye, and beſt taſted, eſpecially when it has been properly ſalted. Too much ſalt makes it white, but ſubject withal to break, and to appear humid in bad weather. The *lingard*, which is ſaid to be the male of the cod, is by far the beſt and the moſt delicate of the whole ſpecies.

The cod caught in autumn, that is in October, November, and December, and ſometimes in January, continues in ſalt to the end of March or the beginning of April. Then it is waſhed, and undergoes the proceſs above deſcribed. Yet it is not falter than the other, though it be not ſo much eſteemed; for there is no doubt but the right method of curing this ſort of fiſh depends on the proper utenſils, as well as on the ſeaſon of the year, and the dexterity

terity of the perſons concerned in the operation.

The boats that are employed at ſea from twenty to forty days, in this fiſhery, take off the head of the cod, and ſlice it on board; and as ſoon as the fiſhermen get to ſhore, they follow the abovementioned receipt. I have given you the particulars, becauſe I think it very eſſential for thoſe who have any intention of trading in theſe parts, to be thoroughly acquainted with this principal branch of commerce.

The Engliſh manner of curing the cod-fiſh is very different from ours; neither is it of ſo good a quality; firſt of all, becauſe the ſalt they make uſe of being of a mineral nature, is conſequently more corroſive, and gives it an acrimonious taſte; in the next place, becauſe they do not take ſo much pains. It is true likewiſe that they are at leſs expence, and they catch a greater quantity. Hence it is that they ſupply all Spain, Italy, and even the Weſt-Indies. To thoſe countries they tranſport a vaſt deal of fiſh, and ſell it much cheaper

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than the French do theirs, who indeed ſend but very little to thoſe markets. The Engliſh carry on this trade even to Louiſburg, and notwithſtanding its being an article expreſsly prohibited, yet whether it be that thoſe in power connive at it, or that they do not take ſufficient precaution, the contraband trade continues. On the other hand, it is certain that the French fiſh being more eſteemed by the Engliſh, the latter buy up a large quantity of the former, in order to gratify the moſt delicate palates. Would it not be therefore a much better way, for both nations to uſe equal care and ſkill, to the end that they might reap equal advantages? I know you are too candid not to allow this truth, and at the ſame time too good natured to diſregard my diligence, though I may not be ſo happy as to afford you ſufficient amuſement.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Of the ſavages, and their manners, &c. Of the means which the French make uſe of in order to draw them over to their party.

SIR,

WERE I to be directed by the idea which moſt Europeans have formed of the ſavages, I ſhould repreſent them to you only as part of the productions of the iſlands I have been deſcribing; but far am I from having the leaſt particle of that ridiculous ſelf-love, which uſurps to itſelf an excluſive right to reaſon. This is a faculty I had almoſt granted to beavers; and indeed in many reſpects we are ſurpaſſed by thoſe animals. I will therefore take upon me to ſay that the ſavages are upon an equality with ourſelves. Yet it is not merely to prove this aſſertion, or to ſatisfy your curioſity, that I enter upon the preſent diſcuſſion concerning theſe people. To be acquainted with a nation whoſe principles and cuſtoms differ ſo widely from ours, is a matter of great importance, whenever we intend to enter into any treaty or

or commerce with them. Our neighbours the Engliſh, whoſe manners are not ſo engaging as ours, have neglected this point, without reaping ſuch advantage from their conduct, as excites us to follow their example. Neither ought we to be ſurprized that the ſavages ſhould ſhew leſs affection towards the Engliſh than towards us, though the latter are capable of doing them as much good as ourſelves; if we reflect that to conciliate the benevolence of a people, we ought ſurely to be directed by a regard to their humour and inclination. Neither will I pretend to ſay that the French have made themſelves intirely maſters of this art in regard to the ſavages. Moſt travellers have preſented us either with too high, or too low an idea of theſe people. Nothing but converſing with them, and carefully ſtudying their manners, can prevent our ſplitting upon one of theſe two rocks, which are both alike to be dreaded. And yet this is generally the fate of thoſe ſuperficial obſervers, who find it more convenient to expreſs either the higheſt admiration, or

the moſt ſolemn contempt, for what they have neither inclination nor abilities to penetrate.

Though the external habit and cuſtoms of the ſavages may appear barbarous to us, yet it is not true that their inward ſentiments deſerve that appellation. Neither is their manner of life exempt from all thoſe defects, by which our ſocial happineſs is ſo often diſturbed. They have only the advantage of being ſubject to fewer of thoſe defects than we: yet as they generally behave with the greateſt calmneſs, while we are apt to be whirled and toſt by a ſtorm of paſſions; it is extremely difficult to find the touch-ſtone, whereby we may diſtinguiſh when they fall only into an error of the underſtanding, or are guilty of a corruption of the heart. No other way is there of coming at it, than by making a nice ſubſtraction of every ſentiment unneceſſary to the wants and preſervation of the individual. But to diſtinguiſh the gifts of nature from the prejudices of education, is perhaps the moſt difficult taſk of all, for one who has imbibed

bibed thoſe very prejudices from his infancy. Hence ariſes that pity which we think due to our fellow creatures, whom we look upon as bereft of the comforts of life: but this is only becauſe we cannot conſider thoſe comforts, as altogether foreign to the happineſs of people who have no idea of them.

The ſavages were perhaps the only happy creatures upon earth, before the knowledge of idle objects, not in the leaſt connected with the preſervation of the individual, had altered the ſimplicity of their inclinations and deſires. Notwithſtanding that our prejudices of this kind have as yet made no great progreſs amongſt them, yet if they could diveſt themſelves of thoſe few which they have learnt of us, they would not think themſelves obliged to us for our ſo much boaſted favours.

A mixture of manners the moſt oppoſite, ſuch as a brutal fury, joined to that amiable ſoftneſs which does honour to humanity, appeared to us at firſt a monſtrous aſſemblage. Yet we might have obſerved, that this characteriſtic of a ſavage was a conſequence

ſequence of that ſame principle, or inſtinct of preſervation and ſelf-defence; a principle which circumſtances make us conſider as variable, though it neither is, nor can be ſuch, but by human contrivance. They who will diſpute this truth with me, need only to prove that we have cured thoſe people of their vices, or improved their virtues. It is true, we have made them alter their cuſtoms, but ſurely they are no gainers by the change. Be that as it may, I muſt deſcribe them to you ſuch as they are.

So ſtrong and ſo general is their averſion to deſpotic power, that we can conſider it in no other light than as a paſſion founded in nature; and if we conſult our own breaſts, we ſhall readily fall into this opinion; therefore here it is that we ought to act with the greateſt circumſpection. Force will never do; they will yield to nothing but perſuaſion. There is very little riſk in uſing gentle means, becauſe you are always ſure of prevailing with a ſavage by reaſon. The light of nature operates much more effectually with them than with us.

Hence

Hence it is that although they know nothing of precepts or ſubordination, yet they enjoy almoſt every advantage derived to us from a well regulated authority. Their laws and their cuſtoms are imprinted in their hearts, and always flow from the dictates of good ſenſe, unleſs this internal voice ſhould happen to be ſilenced by their neceſſities. Then inſtead of having recourſe to conſtraint, which would only increaſe the flame, the way either to ſatisfy, or to prevent thoſe neceſſities, would be to appeal to reaſon. This method of ſubduing their wills, muſt ever meet with ſucceſs. But in order to obtain this kind of empire, it will be neceſſary firſt to gain their eſteem; for they never confide in a perſon, for whom they have not a value. Upon obſerving the leaſt contradiction between the example and the inſtruction of their teachers, they would conſider it as a deſign to impoſe upon them, which they never forgive. And though it be certain that a perſon intirely poſſeſſed of their eſteem, might conduct them with great

caſe; yet this eſteem is very difficult to obtain. I make no doubt but you will laugh at me, when I inform you that the ſavages are at leaſt as complete judges of merit, as thoſe who pretend moſt to that kind of knowledge amongſt us; and yet nothing is more true. They have a method of judging, which to us appears equally defective and ridiculous, becauſe it has been too ſtrictly reduced to the rules of art. It cannot be ſaid with them, that phyſiognomy is deceitful; for in this reſpect they are hardly ever miſtaken in their judgment. They have an excellent taſte this way; and I believe for the following reaſon. They have none of thoſe external appearances that deceive us; none of that ambition which dazzles the minds of thoſe, who with envy behold the golden chain. Intereſt with them being only a view relative to their preſent wants, which are but few, may be conſidered rather as a momentary inſtinct, than a paſſion attended with danger. No wonder therefore, if being devoid of thoſe factitious paſſions, that have enfeebled

feebled the power of ſenſation (a power which perhaps was deſigned by Providence to ſupply the want of reflection) they have preſerved the force thereof whole and intire; if conſulting only the dictates of nature, they diſtinguiſh its operations much better than we, whoſe attention is divided among an infinite number of objects; and if reſigning themſelves to her guidance, they are acquainted perfectly with all her ſteps.

Indeed we have been no great gainers by depriving them of part of this knowledge, and of this ſimplicity. Surprized at the inequality of conditions of which they had no idea, no more than of power diſtinct from merit, they might have been dazzled at firſt by this outward pomp, but it was only for a little while, till their admiration was changed by ſome new object. Therefore if the Engliſh were to contrive ſomething more ſtriking than thoſe different ſhows, by which we endeavour to gain their affections; we ſhould inſtantly loſe our whole influence on all thoſe, whom we had not taken more proper means to ſubdue,

namely,

namely, by convincing the mind, as well as by winning the heart.

Of all thoſe means, which alone are capable of having any permanent ſucceſs, religion is undoubtedly the moſt effectual; and yet there muſt be particular care taken in the manner of exerting it. The tenets of our holy religion being invariable, cannot be rendered ſubſervient to the inclinations of thoſe, to whom we would willingly recommend it; this I grant you is beyond all doubt: but our ceremonies and religious forms may be adapted to their weakneſs. The ſavages being all upon an equality, conſequently devoid of ambition, or jealouſy of ranks and honours; living in the ſtate of nature, and of courſe confining their deſires to the preſervation of the individual, have need of a worſhip that ſhall fill up thoſe vacant moments, which are not employed in providing for their wants. They were already poſſeſſed of a method of filling up thoſe moments, before we were acquainted with them; and when we attempt to change their amuſements, we ſhould

have a regard to thoſe inclinations, which induced them to prefer our form and method of worſhip. Theſe people had the knowledge of a deity, whether they derived it from the light of reaſon only, or had formerly received it from the ſame revelation as ourſelves. The latter opinion might be grounded on ſeveral traditions, which notwithſtanding their being diſfigured by fables, bear a conſiderable reſemblance in the main to our religion. We can trace the hiſtory of the deluge, of the creation, of the fall of Adam, of the immortality of the ſoul, and even of the redemption of man. There are ſeveral who have attempted to unravel their confuſed principles, and whimſical ſuperſtitions. But as I ſhould tell you nothing new, were I to enter upon a tedious repetition of theſe different articles; I ſhall therefore only point out the uſe we may make of them.

In the firſt place, we may derive from thence great comfort to ourſelves, and be ſtrengthened in our faith: for whether we ſup-

ſuppoſe that the light of nature ſupplied them with the ſame ideas as ourſelves; or whether they were indebted for them, as we are, to the aſſiſtance of revelation; it muſt be agreed on all hands, that whatever we are naturally taught by reaſon to believe, is inconteſtable; and that which is univerſally aſſented to, muſt be built on a ſolid foundation. You will eaſily judge that what I am mentioning here, muſt be more particularly meant of the knowledge of a deity, and the nature of the human ſoul, than of other points that have been frequently determined by fancy and caprice.

Secondly, in conſequence of the traces we find of thoſe ſame whims and capricious inclinations, we may determine the worſhip moſt ſuitable to the ſavages; and all prejudice apart, this is undoubtedly the worſhip of the church of Rome. What would become of thoſe poor creatures whoſe active genius cannot take up with thoſe different ſcenes of intrigue and intereſt which engroſs our attention; what would be-

become of them, I ſay, during their intervals of repoſe, when they are no longer buſied in ſatisfying, or providing for their natural wants? Prayers and religious ceremonies, which awe the mind and engage the attention, are alone capable of ſupplying the place of thoſe ſuperſtitions, which we have baniſhed from amongſt them; and the loſs of which they would regret, did we not ſubſtitute ſomething in their ſtead. The ſingle article of confeſſion is abſolutely neceſſary. The influence acquired by this practice, appears to them as a kind of voluntary ſubjection, the only one they are capable of bearing; and rivets their chains in ſo ſtrong a manner, that they ſubmit to the weight for the good of their ſouls, while they conſider it at the ſame time as a kind of relaxation. And this is one reaſon of the inclination of the ſavages in favour of the French. True it is that our enemies may make a proper uſe of it, not only by ſuffering thoſe people to enjoy the free exerciſe of a religion to which they have given the preference, but moreover

by

by confirming them in their inclination to this worſhip, as it may even redound to their own advantage.

I ſpeak here merely as a politician in giving this counſel; and I make no doubt but our people will find their account in following it. The buſineſs would be to appoint ſuch miſſionaries for the ſavages ſubject to our dominion, as are incapable of ſeparating the intereſt of religion from that of the prince; by which means they would more ſurely deprive the enemy of all poſſibility of drawing them aſtray. You will be ſtill more convinced of the neceſſity of this policy, when I ſhall have given you a full account of the ſeveral cuſtoms and manners of the ſavages; and I promiſe to entertain you upon this ſubject in my next letter. At preſent there remains nothing further for me, than to renew the uſual proteſtations with which I declare myſelf,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VIII.

The manners, character, and ceremonies of the ſavages continued, and of their method of expreſſing themſelves. Speech of a Mickmac ſavage.

SIR,

AFTER having given you my opinion of the ſavages in my laſt, it remains now for me to demonſtrate on what that opinion is founded. Even their cuſtoms and ceremonies are alone ſufficient to prove my point. But theſe have been ſo often and ſo copiouſly handled by other writers, that I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe by which they are chiefly characterized. And perhaps I ſhall give you a more exact account, becauſe I have been eye-witneſs to the greateſt part of them myſelf; yet they are all relative, as well thoſe which I intend to deſcribe, as thoſe which I ſhall omit, to the plain dictates of nature, by which alone, as I mentioned to you before, the ſavages are directed.

We generally form a judgment of the inclinations of mankind from the nature of

their

their pleaſures and amuſements; and it is in thoſe moments deſigned for joy, that we pry into the ſecrets of their hearts. Let us therefore begin with the deſcription of an entertainment, which the ſavages give to one another in the caſe of ceremonial viſits, either as friends, relations, or allies, or as deputies from one nation to another. There is no doubt but on theſe occaſions they manifeſt a kind of oſtentation, which, one would imagine, implies ſome degree of vanity and pride: but as their pomp is founded in objects immediately connected with the ſenſes, and not in things of imaginary or arbitrary value, they do not deviate from the principle above eſtabliſhed.

The perſon who receives this ſort of viſits, and intends to ſhew a regard to his gueſt, does not diſplay his rich cup-board, a ſight that rather mortifies the ſpectator. His aim is not to pleaſe the eye of his friend, but to ſatisfy his deſires. The ſavage therefore hath no notion of acquiring eſteem by a diſplay of his riches, but by ſharing them with his friend. The fruits

of

of a whole year's chace, that has coſt him an infinite deal of fatigue, he frequently diſtributes among his friends in a ſingle day; and theſe diſtributions are made with far greater joy on the part of the donour than of the receiver.

After theſe preſents, which are given with a tone of voice that enhances their value, comes the entertainment. The principal diſh conſiſts of the ſeveral dogs he has killed; for this is with them a diſh of ceremony. You ſee, Sir, there is no diſputing of taſtes; not but that this may be every whit as good as a great many others to which we are accuſtomed. Beſides, who knows but that the ſavages, who are all naturaliſts, have diſcovered that dog's fleſh is capable of transfuſing into the blood that inſtinct of fidelity, which we attribute to this animal? Who can tell but they chuſe it for their food, to remind them of a virtue ſo neceſſary to be exerted on theſe occaſions? And indeed as they never do any thing without a cauſe, I think it more reaſonable to ſuppoſe they act through a

motive of this kind, than to ridicule an action, which is no more an object of laughter than many of our European cuſtoms.

In the middle of the cottage belonging to the perſon who gives the entertainment, a large copper is ſet, in which the victuals are dreſſed. The gueſts bring with them each man a large baſon made of the bark of a tree, which baſon they call an *ouragan*. Then they carve the meat, and the portions being equally divided, they add another leſſer *ouragan*, filled with ſea-wolf's oil. Being all ſerved in this manner, they eat their bit of dog, dipping it into the oil. But do not imagine that they eat in the French manner, that is, by ſtunning one with eternal clack; no, they ſit in profound ſilence before they utter a word. After they have eat ſufficiently, and drunk what oil is left, and wiped their hands with their towel, which is no other than their hair, they make a ſignal, and the women enter. Immediately each woman takes away her huſband's plate, and they retire by themſelves to eat the fragments.

In

In the mean time the eldeſt in company falls, or pretends to fall into a kind of revery, that laſts about a quarter of an hour, during which time they take care not to diſturb him. He then orders pipes and tobacco. He lights his own firſt, puts it for a moment to his mouth, and then offers it to the next in rank. They all perform the ſame ceremony, and conclude with ſmoaking in the utmoſt tranquillity.

The pipes are hardly half out, when the leading perſon in company riſes to return thanks to the hoſt. But as this ceremony alone is capable of ſhewing you, that the ſavages have no ideas but ſuch as are relative to the paſſions or inclinations above mentioned, I will give you an abridgment of it.

Yet I muſt previouſly acquaint you with their particular manner of expreſſion, which would otherwiſe occaſion your ſurprize. The language of the ſavages, and particularly of thoſe I am acquainted with, viz. the Mickmacks, Malechites, and Abenakis, bears a great reſemblance to the oriental tongues.

The ſame copiouſneſs of expreſſion, the ſame turn of phraſe, the ſame turgidity of ſtile, the ſame ſtrain of metaphor and allegory. Some would infer from thence that the inhabitants of this new world are deſcended from the Tartars; a notion not deſtitute of probability. Be that as it may, the following is the ſpeech or thankſgiving made by our grateful ſavage.

" O thou, who heapeſt thy favours on us, " who exciteſt the tranſports of our grati- " tude, thou art like unto a tree, whoſe " wide-ſpreading roots ſupport a thouſand " little branches. Thou art like unto a be- " nefactor whom we meet with on the bor- " ders of a lake: thou reſembleſt the turpen- " tine tree, which in all ſeaſons imparteth its " juice. Thou may'ſt be compared to thoſe " mild pleaſant days, which we ſometimes " behold in the middle of the rudeſt " winters, and whoſe benign influence " gladdens our hearts. Thou art great in " thyſelf, and ſo much the more, as the " remembrance of the ſignal exploits of thy " anceſtors does not degrade thee. And in- " deed

" deed thy great great-grandfather, whoſe " memory is ſtill recent amongſt us, was " conſpicuous for his ſkill and agility " as a huntſman. What wonders did not " he perform in the jovial chace, and in " purſuing the *orignals* and the *caribous*? " His art in catching thoſe animals was " not ſuperior to ours; but he had a par- " ticular agility in coming upon them by " ſurprize. At the ſame time he flew at " them with ſuch rapidity, that notwith- " ſtanding they have ſuch great ſtrength and " activity, and are even better able to ſkip " over ſnowy mountains with their legs, " than we with our rackets, yet he uſed " to run them down. He would after- " wards bleed them himſelf, and feaſt us " with their blood; then he fleeced them, " and gave us the whole body of the " beaſt.

" But if thy great great-grandfather uſed " to diſtinguiſh himſelf in this kind of chace, " what feats hath not thy great-grand- " father done in the hunting of beavers? " He outſtripped the induſtry of thoſe

" animals that are almoſt equal to men.
" By his frequent watchings round their
" huts, and by the repeated alarms with
" which he uſed to beat up their haunts
" even in one night, he knew how to
" oblige them to retire to their form, or
" bed, by which means he calculated the
" number which he had ſeen in the day.
" Nothing could equal his ſagacity, for he
" could tell when they would come to load
" their tails with earth, and to cut ſuch
" particular ſhrubs with their ſharp teeth,
" in order to raiſe their dikes. Nothing
" could be more ſurprizing than his fa-
" culty of diſtinguiſhing in what ſpot
" thoſe animals were houſed. In regard
" to thy great-grandfather, was not he a
" moſt clever man at making gins for
" linxes and martens? He had particular
" ſecrets to oblige theſe animals to run
" into his ſnares, preferably to thoſe
" of others. He had likewiſe ſo great a
" quantity of furs, that he was never at a
" loſs to oblige his friends. Let us come
" to thy grandfather, who has made a
" thou-

"thouſand preſents of ſea-wolves to the "youths of his time. How often have we "had the pleaſure of greaſing our hair "with oil upon thoſe happy occaſions in "his cottage? How often has he invited, "and even forced us to go home with him, "upon our returning with empty canoes, "in order to repair the damage we had "ſuſtained? But did not thy father diſtin-"guiſh himſelf in every branch? Was not "he thoroughly poſſeſſed of the art of "ſhooting at game, either flying, or at "reſt; and was not he always ſure of his "aim? But above all he was excellent in "drawing the buſtards towards his ſtatues. "We are all of us pretty well verſed in "the art of counterfeiting the cry of thoſe "animals; but he ſurpaſſed us in parti-"cular inflections of the voice, ſo as to ren-"der it difficult to diſtinguiſh his cry from "that of a buſtard; as he excelled in other "fineſſes by which he was ſure to ſucceed. "We were all aſhamed, whenever he "returned from the chace. True it is, "that the uſe he made of his plenty

" of game, baniſhed all envy from our
" breaſts, and filled us with ſentiments
" of gratitude.

" In regard to the encomiums I might
" beſtow on thyſelf, I confeſs, that loaded
" as I have been with the favours thou
" haſt juſt now conferred upon me, I want
" words to expreſs them. Therefore thou
" may'ſt read my ſentiments in my looks,
" and be ſatisfied with the thanks which I
" give thee, by ſqueezing thy hand."

This ſpeech being ended, another ſavage ſtands up, and abridges it. He commends the eloquence, with which the other has celebrated the anceſtors of their generous hoſt. He ſays that he has nothing further to add to his encomiums; but at the ſame time, he conſiders that the principal taſk has been left to himſelf, which is to celebrate the feſtivity with ſongs and dances. Then he deſires the hoſt to look upon every ſtep he is going to make in cadence, as a tranſport of his gratitude, and at the ſame time he begins to dance with all his agility. After this dance, to which all the

ſpec-

ſpectators beat due meaſure, he begins his panegyric on the feaſt, and on the worthy hoſt. This ſpeech dwells on the ſame points of merit that were celebrated in the former diſcourſe, and is terminated by a ſecond dance. Each gueſt takes his turn in the ſame manner, and the gratitude of the whole company differs only according to the genius of the perſon that expreſſes it.

Do not you think, Sir, that this is in great meaſure a copy of the harangues of our celebrated maſters in philoſophy and eloquence? This ſavage, who makes the firſt ſpeech, and the others that pay approbation to it, by improving on what he has ſaid, do not they reſemble our Academicians, who offer incenſe to each other in the moſt fulſome manner? I find only one difference, which is that the ſavages beſtow their encomiums only upon neceſſary merit; whereas we laviſh ours on things the moſt abſurd and ridiculous: and moreover they enliven their adulations with elegant allegory; whereas ours is generally a moſt fulſome and inſipid dawbing.

Beſides,

Beſides, Sir, would it not be of infinite uſe to our paraſites, if they were to come and take inſtructions of theſe innocent people? You would not then find them ſo ready to calumniate the generous hand that feeds them; nor ſo prone to the deteſtable vice of adulation, which inſtead of promoting the intereſt of their benefactor, only hurries him to his deſtruction.

But I beg you will likewiſe take into your conſideration, the great uſe that may be made of this liberality and gratitude of the ſavages. Nothing is more eaſy than to gain the hearts of the generous and good natured; yet in the preſent caſe, the facility is increaſed by the cheapneſs of the means. Since we are often put to an immenſe expence, in order to procure allies, who inſtead of being really attached to our intereſt, only ſhew us an outward friendſhip; how generous ought we to be, where ſo ſmall a matter is ſufficient to obtain the alliance and amity of men, who are more friendly diſpoſed, more ſincere, and at the

ſame time equally capable of doing us ſervice? This indeed is a point not much attended to: fain would we exerciſe one of their predominant inclinations; but we are too apt to neglect the other, which is neceſſarily connected with the former. We endeavour to ruin and deſtroy a people, whom we might eaſily gain over to our intereſt by this method. I hope that this will be at laſt hit upon; and if the reflections which have interrupted the thread of my narrative, and with which I intend to conclude this letter, ſhould in any wiſe contribute thereto, I ſhall not be at all ſorry for anticipating yours. I have the honour of being, &c.

LETTER IX.

The manners of the ſavages continued; of their feaſts, and councils. Speech of a female ſavage; of their wars, and ſtratagems.

SIR,

DO not imagine you have done with my ſavage entertainment. I intend

to

to trouble you further with a very intereſting circumſtance, as it regards a ſex that has a right to engage our attention. In this reſpect the ſavages are not ſo barbarous by far, as nations that conſider themſelves qualified to inſtruct theſe poor people in the principles of civil ſociety. They admit the women into all their parties of pleaſure, which indeed may be ſaid to terminate in that amiable part of the creation. True it is, that their women make a very good uſe of this privilege: for you are not to imagine that they taint their huſbands with effeminacy, or with any thing tending to enervate their courage: far from it; the notions they inſtil are of a very different kind, as you ſhall preſently be convinced.

The men having thanked their hoſt, the women make their appearance. They are introduced by the eldeſt in company, who holds a large piece of the bark of a birch tree in her hand, the very hardeſt that can be found, and uſing it as a kind of tabour (though the ſound be ſomewhat diſagreeable to the ear) ſhe excites the young

people

people to dance. After which ſhe makes a ſpeech in her turn, addreſſing herſelf to the men.

" You who look upon me as of a frail " ſex, and of courſe ſubordinate to you " in all its wants; know that in my own " ſphere, the Creator has endued me with " abilities and accompliſhments fully equi- " valent to yours. I have been the mother " of great warriors, of excellent huntſmen, " of voyagers who have been expert and " defatigable in the uſe of their canoes. " This hand which you behold now wi- " thered, has more than once plunged the " poniard into the boſoms of priſoners, " who were delivered up to me for my " diverſion. The woods and the banks of " rivers can atteſt, that they have ſeen " me pluck out the heart, the entrails, " and the tongue of enemies committed to " my avenging hand: they can tell whe- " ther I have changed colour; or whether " my courage was in the leaſt daunted, " when I was called upon to ſerve my " country. How often have I bedecked

" my-

" myſelf and my daughters with the ſcalps
" of thoſe traitors? How ſtrongly have I
" encouraged our young people to bring
" me thoſe marks of their valour, for
" which they were to be rewarded with
" honour and glory?
" I have done ſomething more; for I
" have removed every difficulty that ob-
" ſtructed thoſe marriages which were
" founded in love; and Heaven has bleſt
" my endeavours. All the matches of my
" making have been ſucceſsful; they have
" been productive of men, who were the
" props of the nation, men capable of
" perpetuating our race, and of ſcreen-
" ing us from the inſults of our ene-
" mies. I am like thoſe old fir-trees,
" full of knots from the upper bough to
" the root; the very bark of which drops
" off with age, though it covers their
" internal juice. No longer am I what
" I formerly was. My ſkin is all wrinkled
" and furrowed; and my very bones do
" almoſt pierce through me on every ſide.
" As to my external part, I appear to be a
" uſe-

"uſeleſs being; but the courage which "ſtill inſpires me, is as deſerving as ever "of the eſteem of all my acquaintance."

After this eulogium upon her own perſon, which is generally founded in truth, and ſo far reſpectable; the old woman adds a word of thanks to the founder of the feaſt. But in time of war, and during the preparatory ſolemnities, it is quite a different thing. Then the women uſe all their eloquence, and the charms of their perſons, to encourage thoſe warriors that are getting ready for battle. Each, according as they are more or leſs excited, requires a certain number of the enemy's ſcalps from her lover; and they aſſure the men that they will grant no favours but to thoſe who ſhall be poſſeſſed of ſuch teſtimonies of courage.

I ſhall not trouble you, Sir, with a detail of thoſe fooliſh ceremonies, previous to a declaration of war, which the ſavages uſed to practiſe in the times of idolatry; you will find them deſcribed at full length in authors, that have written the hiſtory of

theſe people. Beſides, will it not be eaſy for you to form an idea of their abſurdity, from the knowledge you have of the ſuperſtition of other nations? Could it be underſtood of theſe people only, that fear and hope had given birth to the gods, determined different worſhips, and conſecrated ſuperſtition?

But what I intend to recommend to your obſervation, is the manner in which they uſed to begin, and do ſtill begin hoſtilities.

The people that act upon the offenſive, make an inroad upon the lands of the nation they intend to attack. There they commit all the havock poſſible, deſtroying the preſent game, demoliſhing all the beavers huts, and breaking up the roads, which are none of the beſt. After theſe operations they hold a council of war, at which the men think, reflect, project, and determine; while they are excited and encouraged by the women.

The reſult of this council is to ſend and declare war againſt thoſe people, to whom they have already done ſuch a deal of miſchief,

chief, and who are therefore to conſider it as duly and properly declared.

They ſend off two different ſorts of heralds. Theſe carry along with them their bow and quiver, with their arrows and ſtone hatchets. Thus accoutered, they ſet out for the chief habitation of the enemy, and take care not to apprize any body upon the road of their intention, or even to open their mouth. Then they halt within a certain diſtance of the village, and ſtrike the ground ſeveral times with their hatchets. In conſequence of this ſignal, the enemy know that their lands have been ravaged, and that they are henceforward to be upon their guard for the ſafety of their perſons. In the mean time the heralds, after ſhooting two of their beſt arrows againſt the village, return very quickly to give an account of their errand; and in order to prove their having been at the place appointed, they bring along with them ſuch marks as put it beyond all manner of doubt.

One day I aſked a ſavage for what reaſon they did not declare war before they

committed hoſtilities; and how they came to trouble themſelves afterwards with ſo uſeleſs a ceremony? What, anſwered he, would you have us be ſuch fools, as to give our enemy time to fill their magazines, and to deprive ourſelves of the means of drawing proviſions from their territory? Is it not ſufficient for us to forewarn them to defend their perſons? The declaration of war, ſo neceſſary for mutual preſervation, ſhould not be a fooliſh civility, ſuch as the cuſtom of European nations has made it.

I leave you to judge, Sir, whether the good ſenſe contained in this argument, ought to ſuperſede, or give way to the eſtabliſhed laws of civilized nations? But I foreſee that this queſtion will be ſome time or other determined by abler maſters.

In the mean time the ſavages being apprized by word and deed of the intention of their enemy, think on both ſides, either of maintaining their ground, or of removing themſelves to a better ſpot, or of meeting one another in the field. In order to determine upon the propereſt of theſe three,

three, they hold both long and frequent debates.

Theſe councils however are extremely entertaining, being a matter of curioſity and importance. As the ſavages are directed by reaſon only, and have no other view than the public good, being no way biaſſed either by ambition or private intereſt; he who is moſt ſkilled in the military art, and moſt capable of conducting an enterprize, preſides on thoſe occaſions. If the perſon who has hitherto poſſeſſed the confidence of the nation, perceives that another is more deſerving of it than himſelf, he reſigns his authority to him without the leaſt difficulty. But you will aſk me, how is it poſſible for him to perceive this difference? What a queſtion! Is there any greater difficulty in confeſſing that we are devoid of a certain qualification poſſeſſed by another, than in doing juſtice to our own merit? And when the love of our country inſpires us with a frankneſs ſo repugnant to ſelf-love, ſurely it can meet with no great difficulty in diſpelling thoſe

miſts which ariſe from that very ſame ſelf-love, and are not altogether ſo thick as is commonly imagined.

But without making all theſe analyſes and reflections, the ſavages appear to perform by inſtinct, what in our part of the world requires great efforts of reaſon. And indeed there are no inſtances of any of them having converted their popularity, or ſuperior art and ſkill, to the prejudice of their country. Yet it is amazing to ſee thoſe very ſavages ſometimes ſo indifferent in regard to the public weal, while they ſhew a blind prepoſſeſſion in favour of their immediate intereſts. But theſe different diſpoſitions flow from the ſame principle. The ſavage is ready to knock a man down, that attempts to run away with his *ſagamité* *, juſt as he is going to put it into his mouth; and he is capable alſo of reaſoning cooly upon the ſubject, in order to deprive that perſon of the power of coming near him.

In regard to their military ſtratagems, they are ſo plain and ſimple, that one would

* *Sagamité*, a diſh in uſe among the ſavages.

would think they ſhould hardly meet with ſucceſs; yet ſo careful are they in adapting them to circumſtances and perſons, that they ſeldom miſcarry. Sometimes they pretend to give over all thoughts of attacking, and retire into the woods. Then they lay wait in places frequented by unexperienced young people; and counterfeiting the cries of animals, they impoſe upon the ſimplicity of their enemies, ſo as to overpower them by open force, or by cunning. Formerly their wars were never ended but by the total deſtruction of the conquered party.

True it is, that we have made ſome alteration in their manner of fighting, which was not perhaps the worſt in the world; but ſtill they are far from following ours. The real ſervice we have done them, was to inſpire them with horror of the barbarities they uſed to commit againſt a conquered enemy; barbarities, which though invented to remove unjuſt quarrels, did but perpetuate their animoſities and hatred.

We have likewiſe cured them of the folly

of divination, and reſcued them from the terrible ſubjection they were under to the malice and knavery of their jugglers. I know not whether they have the ſame obligation to us for the changes we have effected in their manner of performing the ceremony of marriage. I am apt to think that their cuſtom was as good as ours, and better ſuited to their own ideas.

The ſavages, though naturally very amorous, were accuſtomed however to enter into this engagement in ſuch a manner as to reconcile their pleaſure to their intereſt. As ſoon as the parents had determined that a youth was of a proper age to marry, they agreed the matter among themſelves, and ſaid to him: "thou may'ſt go now "and light thy pipe day and night "in the cottage of thy intended father-"in-law: thou wilt let the ſmoke go "towards her who is deſigned to be thy "ſpouſe; and act ſo that ſhe ſhall take "a pleaſure in this fumigation, and deſire "thee to let her raiſe it herſelf. Shew "thyſelf worthy of thy nation; do ho-

"nour

"nour to thy ſex and to thy youth, by "providing that none belonging to the "cottage thou art going to, ſhall want "either for neceſſaries or conveniencies. "But particularly be ſure to exert thy "whole attention, in the ſervice of her, "who is to be one day thy companion; "let thy bow and arrows be imployed in "finding proviſions for her, with the ne-"ceſſary quantity of oil and furs. Four "winters are allowed thee to make a trial "of thy fidelity and reſolution."

This ſpeech being finiſhed, the young man, without making any anſwer, betook himſelf to the cottage appointed. His miſtreſs, being apprized of his intentions, lent him a favourable ear, at firſt out of complaiſance; and then, if he proved agreeable to her, ſhe ſignified her mind to him, by aſking for his pipe, of which ſhe made no other uſe of than by puffing the ſmoke into his noſtrils. This agreeable declaration would ſometimes cauſe the perſon that made his addreſſes, to fall quite ſick upon the ground: ſtill it was a declaration of af-

fection; and in what manner ſoever the lover is informed of a return of his paſſion, it muſt be attended with pleaſure. Neither would the future bride ſtop there, but ſhe would tie up the hair of her paramour, and dye his face with colours moſt pleaſing to her own fancy. On this occaſion ſhe would diſplay that ſkill, in which all the ſavage women excell, of pricking ſuch marks in the ſkin of her lover, as are relative to their amours; and would ſuit her fancy in chuſing that part of his body, which ſeemed the beſt adapted to do honour to her own ingenuity.

If theſe little civilities made a quick impreſſion in the hearts of the two lovers, and the parents of the girl were ſatisfied, they ſhortened the apprenticeſhip of their ſon-in-law, and ſaid unto him; "thou mayſt "whenever thou pleaſeſt, take thy ſhare "of what covers thy beloved by night." This ſpeech, which the lover underſtood at half a word, and which he hardly gave them time to finiſh, was the harbinger of his happineſs. Inſtantly he flew from the cot-

tage

tage with his bow and arrows, and went home, where he ſaid to his parents: "you "are to expect me no more, I am going "to the woods, from whence I ſhall not "return, till my beloved is pleaſed to call "me back." As ſoon as he had made this declaration, he betook himſelf to ſome neighbouring foreſt, where he exerted his whole agility and ſkill to procure a large quantity of the choiceſt game. In three days all the young people of the village went in triumphant proceſſion to ſearch for him; and each man loaded himſelf with proviſions and furs, which the bridegroom had purchaſed with great fatigue and toil, to honour the nuptial feaſt. In order to give him ſome relaxation, he was permitted to bear no ſhare of the burden. Being conducted by the juggler, or one of the oldeſt relations, he repaired to his miſtreſs's cottage, and immediately covered himſelf with her bed-cloaths. This ceremony did not hinder the young couple from liſtening to a long diſcourſe on the duties of the married ſtate; and ended with

a feaſt,

a feaſt, which in ſome meaſure put the laſt ſeal to the union. The bridegroom being ſeated among the lads, and the bride among the girls, each waited for their reſpective diſh of meat. This was brought to them in two *ouragans* of equal bigneſs, which were placed in the middle of the cottage. Then the preſident of the feaſt addreſſed himſelf to the bride in the following words: "O thou, who art upon "the point of entering into a reſpectable "ſtate, know that the nouriſhment thou "art going to take, forebodes the greateſt "of calamities to thee, if thy heart is "capable of harbouring any ill deſign "againſt thy huſband, or againſt thy na-"tion. Should'ſt thou ever be led aſtray "by the careſſes of a ſtranger, or ſhould'ſt "thou betray thy huſband and thy country, "the victuals contained in this *ouragan* will "have the effect of a ſlow poiſon, with "which thou wilt be tainted from this very "inſtant: but if on the other hand thou "remaineſt faithful to thy huſband and to "thy country, if thou wilt never inſult

"the

"the one for his defects, nor give a de-
"ſcription of the other to the enemy, thou
"wilt find this nouriſhment both agreeable
"and wholeſome."

This ſpeech being ended, the friend of the new married woman, as if by abſence of mind, took the *ouragan* deſigned for the huſband, and the friend of the huſband did the ſame by that of the new married woman; but immediately recovering themſelves, they cried out; "this miſtake of "ours is an evident ſymbol of the intimate "alliance this day contracted by the two "parties. It is done, they are joined; and "let them multiply." Theſe words being repeated with loud acclamations by all the company, were followed by embraces, feſtivity, and dancing.

I confeſs theſe different circumſtances of foolery and nonſenſe are hardly worth your notice; but I beg you will attend to the principal object. Do not you diſtinguiſh moſt evident marks of an honeſt ſimplicity, which we might eaſily convert to our advantage? And is it not much more becoming a man of

ſenſe

ſenſe to draw a good uſe from thoſe cuſtoms and paſſions, which appear to him different from his own, than to make them the ſubject of laughter and deriſion? I could mention many inſtances, even of perſons of ſhallow capacities, who have ſucceeded by this method, the ſureſt of all others, that of winning the heart. And to convince you of this truth, I need only acquaint you that it has ſucceeded with our commandant. In my next you ſhall have one of his ſpeeches, which produced a moſt wonderful effect. True it is that he only pronounced it; for it was penned by another: ſo that you need not be diſcouraged by hearing his name. It is enough for you to be tired with the length of my letter; therefore I beg you will accept of my excuſes, and only permit me to renew the aſſurances, with which I conclude myſelf,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER X.

The manners of the ſavages continued; a ſpeech made to them by the Count de Raymond, to hinder them from making peace with the Engliſh.

SIR,

AFTER what I have mentioned to you concerning the ſavages, you will eaſily imagine, that they are to be gained only by perſuaſive means. Even in our converſation with thoſe people, we ſhould behave with an air of approbation: for if we only ſeemed to bear with their manners and cuſtoms, they would want to know our motives, which it is impoſſible ſhould flatter their vanity; therefore they would fancy we acted from ſome other principle; and this might redound to our prejudice. Our diſſimulation they would think to be the effect of weakneſs and fear; which undoubtedly would hurt us. On the contrary, if they imagined that we approved of their manners from a conformity of inclination, they

would

would ſurely be attached to us by the ſtrongeſt tie of ſociety, that of ſelf-love. From this ſtudy of their paſſions and inclinations, and from a conſtant endeavour to conform to their cuſtoms, the Frenchman derives that magnificent elogium, which the ſavage thinks he beſtows upon him by ſaying, *he is a man like himſelf.*

You will preſently be able to judge, whether we are not better acquainted than any other nation, with the ſecret ſprings of theſe people's actions; and the ſpeech I promiſed you, will ſerve as an example. Perhaps you will be of opinion that this ſpeech might have been made with a better intention; and you will ſay, that it is neither juſt nor fair to revive or to perpetuate quarrels; but we give the example ſuch as it is. They who underſtand the real motive for which he made it, may apply it afterwards to other objects. What follows is therefore the diſcourſe which the Count de Raymond thought proper to pronounce at a meeting of the ſavages.

"Liſten to me, my children, you call

"me

" me father, and I accept of the name with
" pleaſure. I am the organ of the king
" my maſter, your protector, your bene-
" factor and ſupport. Hence it is not
" only in the quality of father that I ſum-
" mon you together at preſent; but more-
" over as interpreter of the greateſt mo-
" narch upon earth; of a king that has
" no ſuperior but the true God, the know-
" ledge of whom he has communicated to
" you for the good of your ſouls.

" A report is ſpread that your bre-
" thren the Abenakis, the Marechites,
" and perhaps the Mikmacks of the *Heve*,
" have concluded a peace with the Engliſh,
" or at leaſt have granted them a four
" year's truce.

" I ſhall not tell you how odious it is for
" thoſe falſe brethren to have concluded
" this peace without my knowledge, after
" the late and ſpontaneous aſſurance which
" you had given me. Neither ſhall I re-
" mind you of the oaths, which each chief
" took in my preſence on this occaſion in
" the behalf of all your tribes, at the time

" I was

" I was amongſt you, and when I gave
" you freſh proofs of the liberality, affec-
" tion, and kind diſpoſition which our
" unparalleled monarch beareth towards
" your nation.

" Thoſe who have broken their new
" engagements, I abandon to their own
" reflections; but as a good father, I muſt
" open your eyes to your real and ſolid
" intereſts, and to what concerns your
" preſervation. Neither will it be difficult
" for me to demonſtrate that the ſtep your
" brethren have taken, is diametrically op-
" poſite to both.

" Upon my arrival in theſe colonies,
" over which the king has been pleaſed
" to appoint me governor, my firſt care
" was to caſt an eye upon thoſe tribes,
" which are cheriſhed and protected by
" his majeſty. I have been inquiſitive to
" know every thing concerning them,
" and eſpecially the motives they had for
" making war againſt the Engliſh when
" France was in peace with that nation.
" By the moſt diligent reſearches, from

" ſome

" ſome of your own people, and from per-
" ſons of undoubted integrity, I have learnt
" what follows.

" It is alledged againſt the Engliſh, that
" in the year 1744, towards the end of the
" month of December, they committed the
" following treacherous acts and barbarities.
" M. Ganon having the command of a de-
" tachment of Engliſh troops, was ſent to
" obſerve the retreat of the French and ſava-
" ges before Port Royal in Acadia, where
" he found two lonely cottages of the Mik-
" mak ſavages. In theſe were five women
" and three children, and two of the wo-
" men were big with child; but the En-
" gliſh, without any regard to objects ſo
" worthy of compaſſion, plundered and ſet
" fire to the two cottages, and inhumanly
" butchered the five women and two chil-
" dren. It was even found that the preg-
" nant women had their bellies ripped
" open; an act of barbarity, which not-
" withſtanding it had been done in time of
" war, made thoſe who informed me there-
" of, to ſhudder with horror.

" Five months before this cruel action, one " David, captain of an Engliſh privateer, hav- " ing artfully ſet up French colours in the " ſtrait of Fronſac, contrived ſo, by means " of a renegado who ſerved under him as " an interpreter, as to inveigle the chief of " the ſavages of Cape Breton, together with " his whole family, to come on board " his ſhip. This chief, whoſe name was " James Padenuque, was firſt of all con- " fined to a dungeon, afterwards carried " to Boſton, and ſtifled at length on board " a veſſel, in which the Engliſh pretended " to convey him back to Cape Breton. Yet " they detained his eldeſt ſon, who was " only eight years old; neither would they " conſent to reſtore him, though the ſa- " vages had returned ſeveral priſoners with- " out ranſom, in order to recover his liberty, " and notwithſtanding that this condition " had been accepted.

" In the month of July 1745, the ſame " David by the like ſtratagem took a ſavage " family, who had no other way to get " out of his hands, than by making their

" eſcape

" eſcape the very night they were taken.
" At the ſame time one Bartholemew
" Petitpas, being appointed interpreter of
" the ſavages, was carried priſoner to
" Boſton. In vain did you claim him
" ſeveral times in exchange for ſome En-
" gliſh priſoners at that time in your cuſ-
" tody. In vain did you grant two of
" them, who were officers, their liberty,
" on condition that Bartholemew Petit-
" pas was ſent back. They were deaf
" to your offers, and inſenſible to your
" generoſity; and ſoon after they put your
" brother to death.

" The ſame year, 1745, your miſſionary
" having been invited to a parley on your
" account by ſeveral letters from one of the
" chief officers among the Engliſh, and
" having received a declaration in writing,
" that he ſhould be at his liberty to return
" back to you when he pleaſed, ventured to
" repair to Louiſburg. But when he had
" done every thing that was deſired, the
" Engliſh, inſtead of obſerving their pro-
" miſe, detained him againſt his will, uſed

" him extremely ill, and though he was in
" a very bad ſtate of health, obliged him
" to embark for England, from whence
" he was not remanded to France till ſome
" time after.

" It was alſo in the year 1745, that
" the dead bodies of ſeveral of the ſavages
" were dug up at Port Toulouſe, and
" thrown into the fire by the inhabitants of
" Boſton, who likewiſe inſulted the bury-
" ing ground of your nation, and broke
" down all the croſſes erected over the
" tombs.

" The horrid affair of 1746 is another
" event that ought never to be blotted out
" of your memory. The woollen goods,
" which the ſavages bought of the En-
" gliſh merchants at that time trading in
" the baſon of Mejagoueche, were all poi-
" ſoned, ſo that upwards of two hundred
" ſavages loſt their lives.

" What happened in 1749 is an event
" of the ſame atrocious nature. Towards
" the end of the month of July, when
" the inhabitants of New France were
" ſtran-

"ſtrangers as yet to the ſuſpenſion of "arms concluded between the two crowns, "the ſavages had taken ſome Engliſh pri- "ſoners on the iſle of Newfoundland; by "whom they were informed of the ſuſpen- "ſion of arms ſigned the year before at " Aix-la-Chapelle, to which they gave credit "upon the bare aſſertion of the priſoners. "After this eaſy acquieſcence, they expreſſed "the greateſt joy upon ſo happy a reconci- "liation. Nay, they treated them as bre- "thren, untied them, and conducted them "to their cottages, in order to ſhew them "ſome marks of hoſpitality; but notwith- "ſtanding this generous behaviour, thoſe "perfidious gueſts murdered five and twenty "of your people, men and women, in the "middle of the night. There happened "only to be two ſavages at ſome diſtance, "who brought us the news of this horrrid "maſſacre.

"Towards the end of the ſame year, "the Engliſh being gone to Chebucto, "in order to make the ſettlements they " have there at preſent, ſo prejudicial to

" our intereſt, cauſed a report to be ſpread,
" that they were going to deſtroy all the
" ſavages; and ſince that time, they have
" acted but too much in conſequence of
" this menace. They even ſent detach-
" ments of their troops on all ſides in
" purſuit of your people.

" Theſe are the accounts that have been
" given me: but to the above related facts,
" which muſt have come to your know-
" ledge, I ſhall add a piece of intelligence
" which I have received lately; namely,
" that the Engliſh traders have talked
" ſtrangely here to one another, in the
" hearing of people who they imagined did
" not underſtand them, and from whom
" I have received this information. In the
" courſe of their converſation they explained
" themſelves very clearly concerning their
" intention of concluding a ſham peace
" with your nation. They ſaid that un-
" der this ſpecious pretext, they ſhould
" find means to aſſemble as many as they
" could from among your different tribes,
" and then to maſſacre you all.

" It

" It is not my intention, in reminding " you of ſo many acts of cruelty, to excite " you to a barbarous and bloody war. A " true chriſtian is incapable of any ſuch " deſign.

" Beſides, you are at liberty to conclude " war or peace. The king lays you un- " der no reſtraint upon this head; but " you cannot enter into a peace under the " preſent circumſtances, without conſult- " ing that protector, who has never fail- " ed to grant you what ſuccours you " had occaſion for, and who has given " you ſo many marks of his affection. " Beſides, the repeated oaths you made in " my preſence ſome time ago, that you " would conclude nothing without my " knowledge, muſt ſurely be the more " binding, as they were voluntary and " unaſked. You called in your patriarch " as witneſs to this engagement; and from " the marks of joy which you ſhewed on " that occaſion, there was room to think " you would not break it.

" But on the other hand, have not you "

" reaſon to apprehend, that in ſuch a " caſe his majeſty would be juſtly incenſed " againſt your behaviour, ſo as to ſtop his " bounteous hand, to withdraw his ſuc- " cours, and to abandon you to your " barbarous enemies? A misfortune which " thoſe very enemies deſire may befall you, " and to which they would be glad to ſee " you reduced. Conſider therefore that it " is of the greateſt conſequence for you " not to tumble into the pit they are " digging for you: and ſuch is your real " intereſt.

" With regard to your preſervation, in " general and particular, ought not all " the ſavages under the protection of my " ſovereign, to be convinced by the facts " above related, of the ſhocking extremity " to which they would be reduced without " the aſſiſtance of France? But if on the " other hand you will not make peace " without the conſent of your chief ſupport, " you will ever find him a bulwark of de- " fence betwixt you and your enemies.

" Conſult your patriarch, who is a man

" of

" of ſenſe and underſtanding, and has the
" ſame paternal bowels for you as myſelf,
" and though continually employed in the
" care of your ſouls, ſtill endeavours to
" procure you all the ſweets and comforts
" of life.

" Could the aſhes of your fathers, your
" mothers, your wives, your children, your
" friends and relations, be raiſed again to
" life, and become capable of utterance,
" they would ſpeak to you in theſe words:
" Never conclude a peace without the know-
" ledge and conſent of your ſupport; be
" ſure you miſtruſt an enemy who ſtudies
" nothing but your ruin, and who wants
" to ſeparate you from your friends only
" with a view to ſurround you, and to
" make you an eaſier prey. Beware of
" their preſents: for there is ſurely a
" ſnake in the graſs. They would fur-
" ther add: Send two of your people
" to your brethren; let them ſet off
" directly and loſe no time, but acquaint
" them with the dangerous ſtep they have
" taken; let them open their eyes in re-

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" gard to what I have been ſaying, and " thereby they will be prevented from en- " tering into a peace, which muſt infalli- " bly terminate in their ruin.

" Theſe, my children, are my ſentiments " concerning your welfare, and merely on " this account I called you together. It is " now your buſineſs to determine which " ſide you will embrace."

Notwithſtanding the prolixity of this ſpeech, I have judged proper to give it you almoſt word for word, for the reaſons above explained. You muſt not find fault with the Count de Raymond for his enthuſiaſtic language; this is a ſtile that muſt be uſed with the ſavages; and ſure I am, that with a little more exaggeration and a few metaphors, they would be ſtill more ſtrongly moved. All that I wiſh for, is that the conſcience of the orator may agree with his eloquence; that the facts he advances may be ſo well aſcertained, as to afford no room to charge him with having invented a heap of falſities and ſlander.

You may very well imagine, Sir, that if

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our ſavages were to be told, "that they ought "not to make peace, but to continue a bloody "war, becauſe the enemy of their nation in-"ſiſted upon their lowering a flag belonging "to one of their canoes;" I ſay, you may imagine they would be as little moved with this important reaſon for cutting one another's throats, as with any other of the ſame kind. But the preſervation of the individual appears a good motive to them, as well as to us, and even more ſo; nay, it is the only one that touches them. If on the other hand they had been informed, that the king of France would not have them to make peace, or commanded them not to conclude a treaty, their anſwer would be; *but we will have a peace; the ſavage has no maſter.* Thus the neceſſaries of life and liberty are the only bleſſings, and an attachment to theſe the only paſſion, of thoſe ſavage nations. It behoves us to make a proper advantage of this knowledge; but firſt I will ſhew you what uſe hath been hitherto made thereof in this part of the world, and what further progreſs may be

expected, conſiſtently with the government eſtabliſhed in theſe colonies. I ſhall acquaint you with theſe particulars, in the manner as becomes a friend, and not as a courtier; and my ſincerity will be a further proof to you of the attachment, with which I have the honour of being,

SIR, Yours, &c.

LETTER XI.

Of the government of Cape Breton; of the military eſtabliſhment, &c.

SIR,

THE iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John are ſubject to the ſame governor, who reſides at Louiſburg; but this governor, as well as that of Louiſiana, are ſubordinate to the governor general of New France, who reſides at Quebec. True it is, that the diſtance of thoſe towns prevents this ſubordination from being any way irkſome to the commanding officer at Louiſburg. I am even of opinion that he would agree to be ſtill more ſubordinate to the governor general, upon condition of having no body

to rival him in his authority in the town of Louiſburg. This rival is the commiſſary for regulating the colony; and the following are their different functions. From the advantages and privileges which they enjoy in their reſpective offices, you may eaſily judge of the jarring there muſt be between them, whenever they prefer, as it but too often happens, their private intereſt to the public welfare. Whatever relates to the military eſtabliſhment, and to the dignity of command, belongs to the governor only. It is his province to give orders to the troops, to ſee that they be well diſciplined, and able to do ſervice. It is his buſineſs to make the ſtaff-officers give an account of their companies, and to enter into ſuch explications with them, as ſhall make them ſenſible of their duty. He ought to take care that they commit no injuſtice to the men under their command, by withholding either their pay or their proviſions; and if he finds any that have been guilty of this miſdemeanor, it is his duty to puniſh them; but the commiſſary

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ought to order reſtitution at the expence of the offenders.

The governor, together with the commiſſary, may grant abſolute diſcharges to the ſerjeants and to invalids; conforming however in this reſpect to the king's edicts.

The direction of the ſavages, as well as the ſecurity of the colony, belongs particularly to the governor. The adminiſtration of the military cheſt, of proviſions and ammunition, and generally of every article relating to the magazines, is the peculiar province of the commiſſary; ſo that there ought to be no payment, no ſale, nor conſumption, without his orders. Yet whenever the governor is pleaſed to aſk for an account of the ſeveral ſtores, it ſhould be given him by all means, to the end that he may be informed of the true ſtate of the place. The direction of the hoſpitals likewiſe belongs to the commiſſary, though the governor has a right to ſee that every thing be done according to rule. The adminiſtration of juſtice is abſolutely in the hands of the commiſſary, and

and the governor has nothing to do with it, but to aſſiſt the other with all his force, whenever his aſſiſtance is neceſſary; nor ought he ever to refuſe it. It is the commiſſary's buſineſs, as firſt counſellor, to perform, in the abſence of the intendant of Canada, the functions of preſident in the ſupreme council; for inſtance, to give hearing to the cauſes, to collect voices, to pronounce judgments, &c. And whenever he thinks proper to ſummon an extraordinary council, he ought to acquaint the governor thereof by a cryer belonging to court.

The governor and the commiſſary give jointly an account of the conduct of the officers of juſtice, and propoſe proper perſons to fill up ſuch places as are vacant by death or reſignation; but it particularly concerns the governor to ſee that the gentlemen belonging to the army pay ſuch regard to the officers of juſtice, as is due to the character with which they are inveſted, and to inculcate that ſame regard in the people; but eſpecially to leave the

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ſupreme council to their intire liberty in giving their opinions. The commiſſary on the other hand ought to hinder the council from meddling either directly or indirectly with whatever relates to the government and general adminiſtration of the colony; becauſe he has been entruſted with authority merely to do juſtice to individuals in conteſted matters. Both the governor and the commiſſary ought equally to prevent any practitioners of the law, that ſhould happen to ſettle in the colony, from interfering in any manner whatever in private cauſes.

The grants of lands, ſtrands, &c. appertain in common to the governor and the commiſſary; who ſhould be particularly careful to act in this reſpect after ſuch a manner as ſhall prove moſt conducive to the welfare and improvement of the colony.

As the inferior officers of juſtice are entruſted with the particular police, the commiſſary inſpects their conduct. In regard to the general police, it is in the joint

hands of the governor and the commiſſary, and is confined to three objects; the increaſe of inhabitants, the augmentation of the number of planters, and the improvement of commerce and the fiſhery. The governor ought to take care of the firſt point, by treating the inhabitants with lenity and humanity, and by hindering the officers from uſing them with oppreſſion. The commiſſary ought alſo to contribute on his part, by ſympathizing with the people in their ſeveral diſtreſſes, and by not ſuffering the powerful to cruſh the weak, or the officers of juſtice to abuſe their authority.

With regard to the fortifications to be erected or continued at Louiſburg, and in ſome other parts of the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John, the governor and the commiſſary ſhould agree together in this point, as well as for the maintenance of good order and religion.

This, Sir, is a ſummary of the general and particular inſtructions, which the king gives to the two principal men employed

in the government of theſe iſlands. There is no doubt of their being very good and extremely well digeſted; but in my humble opinion they are ſuitable to ſuch countries only, as are more within the reach of the eye of the ſovereign. For ſhould there happen to be any claſhing between theſe officers about their reſpective juriſdiction, it would lay a foundation for a perpetual quarrel and animoſity, if either of them ſhould not be thoroughly honeſt; and much more ſo if neither of them was endued with a diſpoſition to promote the general good. Further, let us ſuppoſe two men as honeſt as you pleaſe, and ſo free from jealouſy and envy as to reſpect this feeble barrier of their juriſdiction, ſtill there muſt ever ariſe ſome inconveniency, from too equal a diſtribution of government. Where can you find two men, who ſee things in the ſame light? And unleſs they have the pureſt intentions imaginable, how is it poſſible to prevent their adhering obſtinately to their own ſentiment, when they think it founded on a regard to the public welfare? In vain would

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it be to recommend union to them, when they fancied it their duty to differ. Should you object that this is the very form of government eſtabliſhed in all the towns in France, I make anſwer, that it will do very well in that kingdom, becauſe it is eaſy, in conteſted caſes, to obtain a deciſion from the prince; but conſidering our great diſtance, how many inconveniencies might ariſe before we could receive a plenary determination from the fountain head? I do not think you will have recourſe to the weak ſhift of ſubmitting to the decrees of the government of Canada; for you cannot be ignorant that during the greateſt part of the year, it would be as eaſy to have intelligence from Paris as from Quebec. I own the king's inſtructions expreſſly take notice, that in affairs requiring diſpatch, and where the commiſſary and the governor cannot agree, the opinion of the latter ſhall have the preference. But then it is neceſſary that the commiſſary ſhould at leaſt conſent to the neceſſity of this diſpatch, before he can reſolve to deliver out the public money,

without which nothing can be done. And as this confeſſion or agreement ſubjects him to the will of a perſon contrary to his approbation, it is obvious he cannot come into it but in the very laſt extremity, of courſe when probably it is too late.

The proofs of what I have been here advancing, are ſtill recent in every body's memory. We had a late inſtance of an oppoſition, which was not ſo much as owing to a miſtaken zeal for the public good. In the year 1751, a new governor landed on the iſland, and in ſix weeks became the commiſſary's mortal enemy. The former wanted to humble his collegue, who on the other hand, being long accuſtomed to the inhabitants and to the cuſtoms of the country, found a thouſand ways to mortify his rival. Do you imagine that during theſe diſputes the ſtate was well ſerved, or a proper care taken for the ſecurity of the colony? Whatever the governor propoſed, was ſure to be contradicted by the commiſſary. The latter uſed to deny that the caſe was ſo urgent as to require his com-

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pliance; neither would he, without an expreſs order, deliver out the public money, which he has generally in his cuſtody. In the mean while the fortifications were neglected; and a formidable enemy was ready perhaps to take advantage of our diviſions: ſo that before the quarrel betwixt two rivals in ambition, authority, and intereſt, could be decided, the proper precautions were likely to come too late. But theſe, you will ſay, are not examples to the point. There is no ſort of doubt but thoſe two men were guilty of failings inconſiſtent with the love of their country. But who can tell whether their ſucceſſors have behaved better? The choice of thoſe officers is ſubject to great miſtakes, without reckoning the voluntary errors owing to partiality and favour. Therefore ſince it is impoſſible to dive into the heart of man, and it would be too laborious a taſk for the ſovereign to make a general inquiry himſelf, would it not be far preferable for him to entruſt his authority into the hands of a ſingle perſon, in a country where it is

ſo difficult to remedy the abuſe and inconveniency of dilatory deciſions? At leaſt the apprehenſion of ſhame, and of not being able to throw the fault upon another perſon, would be ſome check to this officer. The moſt defective plan, if it meets with no interruption, is far preferable to the moſt plauſible ſchemes, when they happen to be ſubject to contradiction and delays.

You muſt not however imagine that thoſe two gentlemen had not their admirers: but I would have you to form your judgment from this impartial account.

The commiſſary, who is ſtill in the colony, is grown grey, as it were, in the ſervice. He came very young to this country; and brought up a Creolian girl himſelf, whom he afterwards married. A great many people ſay that he perfectly underſtands the advantages and intereſts of this colony; others, and particularly his adverſary, pretend that he underſtands his own much better; that he favours only his friends and relations; and that through an unjuſt partiality, he diſcourages the in-

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habitants, and hinders the improvement of the colony. The governor upbraided the other with the meanneſs of his extraction, with his firſt employment as clerk to the navy, and with the mediocrity of his abilities, in every thing that does not regard his own perſonal intereſt.

But the perſon that throws theſe reflections upon him, is not exempt himſelf from cenſure. In vain does he pride himſelf of the honour of being related to one of our moſt eminent miniſters of ſtate; his pretenſion was flatly denied. You may well judge that after this, they gave him no quarter. Even his perſon, for which he could not be accountable, was not ſpared. True it is, that his figure is rather apt to excite deriſion than reſpect, eſpecially in people who ſeemed the more inclined to pay him too little, as he required too much. His imperious air, and deſpotic tone of voice, are extremely ill ſuited to a crabbed countenance and diminutive figure; not to mention his ſpindle ſhanks, which muſt needs diſgrace a perſon, who would

fain raiſe himſelf above all the world. Theſe however are blemiſhes that might be eaſily effaced by an extent of genius, with prudence and reſolution; qualifications, which our governor ſeems not to be ſo happy as to poſſeſs. It is ſaid only that he has an itch to meddle with every thing, without abilities to ſupport him. And indeed, notwithſtanding that the functions of theſe two officers are as diſtinct as poſſible, ſtill he has encroached to ſuch a degree on that of his collegue, as to produce a very dangerous ſchiſm in the colony. He tired the court with his projects; and it was to no purpoſe to deſire he would conſult with the commiſſary, who was preſumed from his long experience to be better informed; ſtill he would return to the ſame point. Obſtinacy is the inſeparable attribute of ſhallow capacities. To expect eſteem merely from the decoration of their titles, is their common practice. Beſides, does not a diſdainful air exalt their perſonal qualities in the eye of fools? and are not fools the greateſt number? are not they perhaps the

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only people that take notice of one who reſembles themſelves? Theſe reflections, you ſee, are general; though the perſon that occaſioned them, may eaſily point out the application: all we can ſay in particular is, that he appears to us the man in the world we had the leaſt reaſon to expect for our governor. He had never ſhewn any ſpecimen of his abilities in an art ſo neceſſary to our welfare. As he had been hitherto employed only in the land-ſervice, he was of courſe unpractiſed in maritime affairs; nor had he ever diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his own province. It is ſaid that he was a great projector; but I queſtion whether this ſort of merit ought to paſs for any thing in a country generally overburthened with ſchemes.

Yet his capacity was not the only thing inquired into; the commiſſary finding the public all of one mind about this article, made a cloſer attack upon him: I ſay cloſer, becauſe I think as you do, Sir, that the diſpoſition of the heart, is a more proper characteriſtic of a man, than certain qua-

qualities, the want of which ought rather to be imputed to his patron than to himſelf. He was charged with having purchaſed a piece of ground of conſiderable extent, that had been cleared at a very great expence, and with having refuſed to pay the money; as alſo with having obliged ſeveral of the inhabitants to diſpoſe of their poſſeſſions on that ſpot. It was likewiſe ſaid that his cook-maid, whom he had raiſed to be his governante, ſold every thing that could poſſibly be obtained by way of favour, and thereby enriched herſelf to the prejudice of perſons of real merit. Theſe are accuſations ſufficiently proved by the great expence he was at above his income; by the teſtimony of ſome perſons, who, notwithſtanding their obligations to him, could not avoid ſpeaking the truth; and laſtly, by the indulgences of the court. For after all, this very man, whoſe memory has been preſerved here ſo much to his diſhonour, has obtained, by way of gratification, a remiſſion of all his debts, which were very conſiderable, and a penſion of four thouſand livres.

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You ſee, Sir, that neither doubt, nor certainty about this matter, is of any conſequence to people who ſuffer from both. The inhabitants, deſirous of acquiring a little property, are ready to undertake a thouſand things, though ever ſo laborious, for the advantage of the colony: but ſome are ſtopped by injuſtice and oppreſſion; while others are afraid of being ſtripped by our diviſions, of the fruits of their labour. From what quarter ſoever theſe ſcourges come, they put a damp to all induſtry. Once more I ſay it, to ſupply the eye of the ſovereign, we ſtand in need of a ſingle repreſentative, worthy of his majeſty. But I was not aware that my complaints and wiſhes have lengthened out my letter to ſuch a degree, that I ſhould find no room for the other particulars of government, the abuſes of which, as a good citizen, I ought to lament. As a good friend, I ought alſo to give you a caution concerning them, ſince you are very ſhortly to feel their inconveniency. Let us reſerve the remainder for another letter, and conclude this with

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the ſame ſentiments as I finiſhed all the reſt. I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XII.

Of the ſupreme council, and other juriſdictions; of the hoſpital, prieſts, monks; and of the miſſionaries of the ſavages.

SIR,

AFTER having ſufficiently entertained you in regard to the two leading men of the colony, to their different functions, their diviſions, and the inconveniencies from thence ariſing, I muſt now proceed to the ſubaltern bodies that are entruſted with the particular branches of government. The ſupreme council is compoſed of the governor, the commiſſary, the king's lieutenant, an attorney-general, four or five counſellors, a ſecretary, and a tip-ſtaff; and if any of the council happens to be indiſpoſed or abſent, ſome inhabitant of the colony is appointed to ſupply his place, when there are cauſes to try. But ſince I have taken the reſolution to diſcloſe my mind to you in regard to the uneaſineſs I

have felt from the abuſes of this place, I ſhall be ſo free as to tell you what methods ought to be obſerved, at leaſt in my opinion, in order to remedy theſe inconveniencies. And firſt of all, the attorney-general ought to be known at leaſt to the majority, as a man of probity. He ſhould be a perſon that had ſtudied the law, been ſome time at the bar, and a man of ſound judgment. Each member of the council ought alſo to be acquainted with the principal laws of the colony. They are generally choſen from among the merchants, and very often without examining whether they have the requiſite qualifications; a neglect that may be of very bad conſequence. For as it too often happens that they are ſome way intereſted in the ſuits that are brought againſt other merchants; I could wiſh that the town-major was joined to the council, but not till ſix months after being named to his office, during which time he ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the laws, and aſſiſt at all their meetings, yet without having a deliberative

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voice during this kind of noviciate. It would likewiſe be adviſeable to introduce one of the captains into the council, without taking him in his rank of ſeniority, but chuſing him from among the whole corps, upon finding that he had the qualifications requiſite for this employment, and had given full proof thereof for the ſame ſpace of time as was fixed for the major.

This very method ought to be obſerved in regard to the king's lieutenant, and the other members. By theſe means we ſhould always have a wiſe council; at leaſt it is morally certain that they would be much more ſo than thoſe who are taken at a venture. Beſides, this mixture of the gentlemen of the army with thoſe of the long robe, muſt be productive of a very good effect, and prevent a multitude of abuſes, which you may eaſily gueſs at from my remedies againſt them. Another conſiderable advantage ariſing from this mixture, would be the reconciling theſe two orders of men to the ſame way of thinking. This is a point that cannot be too ſtrongly in-

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culcated; for it would prevent the contempt that prevails on one ſide, and the inveterate hatred on the other; which are oftentimes a matter of ridicule in flouriſhing kingdoms, yet extremely prejudicial to a new colony. And ſuppoſing thoſe oppoſite paſſions could not be abſolutely ſuppreſſed, ſome advantage might ſtill be drawn from them: for as union in council is of great uſe, moderate oppoſition is alſo conducive to a good purpoſe; ſince it renders the avenues to corruption of more difficult acceſs. It likewiſe creates jealouſies, which frequently end in an emulation advantageous to the community. This at leaſt I am ſure of, that in a council conſtituted after my manner, we ſhould not ſee inſtances of judges ſitting to determine cauſes without knowing any thing of the proceedings; at leaſt they would be deſirous of ſome information by a brief or memorial, were it only for the pleaſure of vying with one another in ſagacity and knowledge. For there is not a man of the law, or even a common accomptant,

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but thinks himſelf more knowing, and pretends to more learning than a military officer. And among the gentlemen of the army, ſurely there is not one that would chuſe to be noted for his ignorance.

Next to the ſupreme council comes the bailiwick, which notwithſtanding its being an inferior court, deſerves the ſame care and regulation as the former. This kind of juriſdiction extends itſelf to the civil adminiſtration, and the particular police of the colony; being compoſed of a judge, the attorney-general, a ſecretary, and a tipſtaff. It is at preſent exerciſed by the officers of the admiralty, which ſeems altogether abſurd. The bailiff ſhould be therefore an honeſt man, that at leaſt had ſome tincture of the laws, and was acquainted with the cuſtom of Paris, which is the ſame as is followed in the French colonies. This judge, and his ſubaltern officers, ought to have a competent ſubſiſtence, without being obliged to ſqueeze upon the public. And indeed the ſalaries annexed to this juriſdiction are far from being

being ſufficient: they have been ſettled by a tax, no longer compatible with the improvement of the colony.

But our misfortune is, that not only we have no ſuch thing as a genteel maintenance for our judges, which may induce them to adminiſter juſtice impartially, but we are likewiſe ſo unlucky as to be deſtitute of the means of executing their decrees. We have neither a common hangman, nor a tormentor *, nor ſo much as a jail. You will ſay perhaps, you have no occaſion for them. Pardon me, Sir, for we are not of a particular frame or make: and would to God we could do without thoſe things; I ſhould be under very little concern about the maintenance of our judges.

The admiralty conſiſts of a lieutenant, the attorney-general, a clerk, and a tipſtaff. I cannot help wiſhing for the good of this court, that they made choice of diſintereſted officers, and ſuch as carried on no trade

* The officer appointed to rack criminals, or to inflict penal tortures.

of any ſort, but ſhewed themſelves extremely active in preventing all illicit commerce, in viſiting the ſeveral ſhips and veſſels that enter the harbour, and in ſending to inſpect the other ports in the iſland. It is at the court of admiralty that the merchants enter the different commodities, that are imported into the colony, as well in foreign as in national bottoms. The emoluments they receive on this account, are very conſiderable. They viſit the ſhips, and verify the cargoes from the accounts entered in their office. If there happen to be effects unentered, or prohibited, they are confiſcated, and the captains condemned in pecuniary fines, and to the ſeizing of their cargoes, &c. The judge of the admiralty, as I ſaid a while ago, is judge of the bailiwick. He was heretofore a journeyman peruke-maker, but afterwards became clerk to a merchant in Louiſburg, and ſecretary to two juriſdictions. And ſince the concluſion of the peace, the ſecretary of the admiralty, upon entering into a very conſiderable branch of

trade, raiſed this man to be judge of that court, and procured him the poſt of bailiff, in order to render him more ſerviceable in his commerce at Louiſburg. This magiſtrate, and the others of ſubordinate juriſdiction, are grown extremely rich, which is not at all ſurprizing, ſince they are intereſted in different branches of commerce, particularly the contraband.

We muſt now proceed to the ſpiritual government, which is not the leaſt eſſential to the minds of a people, whoſe zeal and ſimplicity render them ſuſceptible of every impreſſion. The ſame precaution ſhould therefore be taken to chuſe proper members for this ſort of government, as for the other branches above mentioned. Nay, there ought to be more; for the ſavages are extremely apt to be ſcandalized, and carried away by their prejudices, when they ſee religion expoſed to ridicule. The inhabitants have alſo imbibed ſome part of theſe notions. Therefore you may eaſily imagine what havock and miſchief might be committed here by thoſe turbulent ſpirits,

or by thoſe hypocondriacs, who are apt to diſguiſe the acrimony of their natural diſpoſition, under the cloak of piety. As theſe men ought to ſet an example to the reſt, do but think what confuſion there would be, if they were to lead a diſſolute life, and to influence thoſe whoſe inclinations are of themſelves but too prone to debauchery. But why ſhould I mention theſe misfortunes, as diſtant and barely poſſible? Let us be candid; we feel them already, and the worſe of it is, we feel them in both extremes.

We have ſix miſſionaries, whoſe continual employment is to ſpirit up the minds of people to fanaticiſm and revenge. I confeſs that theſe arms are turned againſt our natural enemy; but this enemy has not as yet violated the peace between the two nations; and I queſtion whether the Chriſtian religion admits of our raiſing, without a cauſe, ſuch ſentiments in the minds of the vulgar, as are conducive to envy and hatred, and deſtructive to our fellow-creatures. I cannot bear theſe odious de-

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clamations, which our prieſts make every day to the poor ſavages. "The Engliſh "are the enemies of God, and companions "of the devil; ſince they do not chuſe to "adopt the ſame way of thinking with "us, you muſt do them as much miſchief "as you can. Our king could not avoid "concluding a peace with them, which is "not to be of long duration. But this "peace does not relate to you at all: go "on with your hoſtilities; till we think "proper to aſſiſt you. To behave in this "manner is your duty towards God, to-"wards your neighbour, whoſe blood calls "out aloud for vengeance; and, laſtly, "towards yourſelves, ſince they aim at "nothing but your total deſtruction."

Let us grant, for a while, that the governor, for political reaſons, ſeldom conſiſtent with the goſpel, may harangue them in this manner; but that the miniſters of this very goſpel ſhould preach ſuch ſermons, is ſo abſurd, that I do not think our miniſtry, notwithſtanding they may be pleaſed with the effect, can approve of the cauſe. And

what anſwer could we give to the Engliſh, if to refute the charge of being aggreſſors whenever a war broke out, they ſhould ſend us a copy of one of thoſe edifying diſcourſes? Here indeed one might juſtly cry out, that the God whom we worſhip, does not approve of any ſuch fanatical proceedings. And really, if his miniſters were to be directed by his holy commandments, inſtead of ſeducing thoſe weak ignorant ſouls, they would ſpeak to them in the following manner. "We are all of us "the children of God, the Engliſh as well "as yourſelves; it belongs to our common "father alone to determine whether they "are diſobedient to his orders. He has "not entruſted us with the deciſion of "his cauſe, but reſerved it to himſelf. "They are your brethren; and for this "very reaſon you ſhould forget that ever "they were your enemies: nay, you ought "to be afraid leſt thoſe calamitous times "ſhould return; and inſtead of promoting "ſuch an event, you ſhould rather la-"ment the unhappy neceſſity of a juſt "defence." Were

Were our prieſts but to deliver themſelves to this purpoſe, ſix would not be ſufficient to diſcharge the whole duty of the miſſion; but conſidering the manner in which they miſlead thoſe poor people, they are rather too numerous. I muſt except one perſon, who is in ſome meaſure their ſuperior. He is a very worthy man, endued with good ſenſe and underſtanding, of great mildneſs of temper, and known probity. Still he is but one to five; and let him be ever ſo much a man of ſenſe, it is impoſſible for him to make the others liſten to reaſon, eſpecially if their manners are irreproachable. For it is but too often the caſe, that people of this condition of life, who ſteer clear of cenſure in regard to their morals, imagine themſelves above controul. And yet it is a moot point which of the two may be termed the moſt dangerous, a debauched, or an enthuſiaſtic prieſt: though experience ſeems to have determined the point. But, as I obſerved to you before, we are troubled with both inconveniencies; on the one hand,

our miſſionaries raiſe diſturbances by their declamations; and on the other, the recollect friars, who are jointly concerned in the adminiſtration of ſpiritual affairs, ſet a bad example to the common people, eſpecially by their intemperance and ignorance, &c.

The hoſpital is ſerved by ſix brothers of the charitable confraternity. With regard to theſe people, as well as the recollects, you ſhall ſcarce meet with a common ſoldier in the whole army, but leads a far better life than they. Nay, they do not ſeem to think that charity is a virtue; for were it not that the governor has a careful eye over their conduct, the poor people that are ſent to this hoſpital, would be ſure of being ſent to their grave. Yet the king pays them as generouſly, as if they deſerved his benevolence. To each of the fathers he allows five hundred livres a year, a thouſand livres for their board, three thouſand for the furniture and utenſils of the hoſpital, and ſix hundred for the purchaſe of medicines conſumed throughout the year. For every

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ſoldier under their care, they are allowed ſixteen ſous a day, beſides his ration of bread, which is valued at above five and twenty ſous. For the other people of the colony, who are received into the hoſpital on the king's account, they are likewiſe allowed five and twenty ſous; and they expect more from the burghers, and other inhabitants that chuſe to be there at their own expence. They have the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt commodious houſe in the colony. They have likewiſe three different habitations in the beſt parts of the iſland, where they breed poultry and cattle; which indeed would perfectly enable them to do their duty towards the ſick, if they were ſo diſpoſed.

But I take upon me to affirm, that they never will do it, and there is no other way to provide for the ſafety of the infirm, than to place a ſurgeon in the hoſpital, with a power to inſpect the drugs, it being known that thoſe charitable brethren generally conſult their own profit, and not the preſervation of the patient. Their

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behaviour in regard to the ſuſtenance of the ſick people, is equally ſcandalous: ſo that the ſhorteſt way would be not to employ them at all, but ſend them back to do penance in France. They have great need of it, for beſides what I have been mentioning, there are many other matters for them to repent. As they are ſurgeons, phyſicians, and apothecaries to the whole colony, they are continually roaming about from houſe to houſe; and, God knows, what miſchief they do: at leaſt I believe that if there are ſome married women who do not complain of them, there may be ſeveral huſbands who have a great deal to lay to their charge. Indeed in the chirurgical buſineſs, the branch which pleaſes them the moſt is man-midwifry, and probably they have more reaſon than one to be fond of it. In ſhort, indecent as theſe things may appear in the recital, they are far from being exaggerated; and as thoſe men who ought to edify us in their different employments, do rather ſet us the worſt of examples; I am for abſolutely

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expelling them all. In their room I ſhould be for ſubſtituting the grey ſiſters, who in general are far more capable of nurſing the ſick than any man whatever; and virtuous women are qualified for every decent employment.

We have ſome religious women here, that call themſelves of the community eſtabliſhed at Quebec, whoſe province it is to ſuperviſe the education of young girls; and theſe are women of true piety: but they have hardly either lodging or victuals to eat, while the ſturdy indolent friar is ready to burſt with fat. I confeſs I am ſomewhat angry upon the ſubject, and my warmth hinders me from ſeeing that perhaps I am troubleſome to you, by taking up ſo much of your time upon the ſame object. Let us therefore proceed to the military ſtate of the iſland.

Before the war, the military ſtate of Cape Breton conſiſted of the following ſtaff-officers, namely, the king's lieutenant, a major, an aid-major, and the king's lieutenant in the iſland of St. John. The troops on foot were

were to the number of eight French companies, each of ſeventy men, commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, two enſigns, with a detachment of five hundred Swiſs, of the regiment of Karrer. Theſe troops were in garriſon at Louiſburg, from whence a company was ſent to the iſland of St. John, and another to the Royal battery; which were relieved regularly every year. There was alſo a detachment ordered to Port Toulouſe, another to Port Dauphin, and a third to the little iſland battery. Since the reſtitution of Cape Breton, the garriſon has been increaſed to four and twenty French companies, of fifty men each. The ſtaff-officers have been put upon the ancient footing, and there has been another diſtribution of the garriſon in proportion to its augmentation. Beſides theſe four and twenty companies of regular troops, the colony has been ſtrengthened once more by a company of bombardiers, who had been here ſome years before, and are of very great ſervice in time of war. I will not pretend to ſay, Sir, that there are no abuſes in

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regard to theſe troops; for I muſt be ſincere. What I can fairly declare on the occaſion, is that thoſe abuſes are not owing to any want of regulations and inſtructions from the court to the commanding officers: but if we continue to obſerve them no better than thoſe which concern the fortifications, I may ſafely prophecy, that notwithſtanding we have ſo many brave fellows to defend us (not to mention the inhabitants, whoſe number in the town of Louiſburg alone amounts to four thouſand, about eight hundred of whom are able to bear arms) we run a riſk of falling once more under the power of the enemy, whenever they ſhall think proper to beſiege us.

Is it not therefore the part of an honeſt citizen to lament the annual loſs of men, and money, owing to the bad adminiſtration of thoſe who abuſe the ear of the prince? Therefore I have not done with my complaints; and I know you too well, not to be convinced that you muſt ſympathize with me on ſo melancholy a ſubject. I am,

SIR, Yours, &c.

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LETTER XIII.

Of the commerce of both iſlands; of the contraband trade, and the abuſes in this reſpect.

SIR,

TRADE is at preſent one of the principal objects of government in moſt countries in Europe: beſides the wealth that flows from this ſource, it ſerves to unite different nations by mutual intereſts and conveniencies, which are afterwards ſtrengthened by habit and correſpondence, and form the moſt laſting ties of human ſociety.

This maxim is ſo well underſtood by the Engliſh and the Dutch, that it ſeems to be the baſis of all their politics, ſo that there is hardly a country with which they have not eſtabliſhed a regular traffic. And I make no manner of doubt, but that the prodigious influence which thoſe nations have on the affairs of Europe, and the eaſe with which they ſucceed in their ſeveral negotiations, are owing to the connections

nections originally introduced, and afterwards made neceſſary, by commerce. It is amazing that the French ſhould not have been ſenſible of ſo eſſential an article, till after all other nations; and that they could have ſo long ſuffered the Dutch to run away with their trade; when they might have carried it on to ſuch an advantage themſelves.

And indeed France has within herſelf the richeſt materials of commerce of any country in Europe. The whole kingdom almoſt is fruitful and cultivated. She has a prodigious number of manufactures; and her colonies alone afford a yearly ſupply of commodities nearly to the value of a hundred millions of livres, by which a conſiderable navigation is ſupported. This produces an immenſe quantity of ſuperfluities, which can only be a burthen to her, unleſs they are exported to other nations; but the promoting a foreign conſumption of them, muſt neceſſarily raiſe her to the higheſt degree of power.

Such a fund of commerce ought naturally

to connect the French with all other nations. There are but very few that do not make uſe of our commodities, nay, that do not eagerly deſire them, and give them the preference. We ſhould therefore have encouraged them all to enter our harbours, and have taken off of their hands whatever they were able to import to us, without prejudicing our own national intereſt. By this method we might have increaſed the number and competition of purchaſers; there would have been a much greater demand for our goods, and a quicker conſumption; the conſequence of which would be, that the price of commodities would have riſen, or at leaſt been maintained upon a very advantageous footing.

But inſtead of purſuing this meaſure, we have taken quite a contrary ſtep. Without concerning ourſelves about other nations, we have relied upon the Dutch alone for the management of our whole commerce. This is the foundation of the ſeveral treaties concluded with thoſe people, wherein we have favoured them with moſt

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exorbitant privileges, ſuch as were incompatible with the commerce of other nations.

If ſo extraordinary a conduct were not repugnant to reaſon, ſtill experience would convince us of its abſurdity. Before theſe treaties our ſeas were covered with ſhips from the north and from the Baltic; but ſince that time, for one Daniſh, or Swediſh veſſel, that we ſee in our harbours, we have a hundred Dutch. Therefore as navigation is together the means and the cauſe of commerce, our commodities were all exported, to our great national detriment, to Holland; for nothing contributes ſo much to lower the price of merchandize, as collecting too large a quantity in one ſpot. Beſides, as only a very ſmall part of our commodities was conſumed in Holland, and the reſt were to be forwarded to the north and to the Baltic for a ſecond market, it was the intereſt of the Dutch to keep them down at ſo low a price, that they might be gainers by ſelling them again, and other nations ſhould not find their account in fetching them from France, which indeed

the extraordinary duties prevented them from doing.

This ſyſtem of commerce had like to have been the ruin of France. The Dutch diſpoſed of our moſt valuable commodities in what manner they pleaſed. They exported our goods at our own expence, and at our own riſk; and finding themſelves ſupplied in ſuch plenty, they turned this very circumſtance to our diſadvantage, by fixing our commodities at an arbitrary price, generally relative to their markets in the north. On the other hand, this diminution of the price at Amſterdam, was felt over the reſt of Europe; for the Dutch uſed to regulate the current price of all merchandizes, and France was obliged to follow them; in conſequence of which the price of French goods was ſometimes reduced to ſuch a point, that they coſt ourſelves twice the value of what we were offered for them.

It was therefore of the utmoſt importance to ſet aſide thoſe treaties, which deſtroyed the ſinews of our government, excluded

us from the Baltic, of course prevented the veſſels of that part of the world from entering our ports, and almoſt intirely broke off all correſpondence between France and the northern ſtates. For commerce is the firmeſt and moſt laſting connection betwixt different nations. To this all other reaſons of ſtate ought to give way.

How greatly muſt we therefore have ſuffered in our politics, from the almoſt total interruption of trade, to which we were reduced by our treaties with the Dutch? For this is what happened, and what will always happen, whenever we take it into our heads to conclude an excluſive treaty with any nation. The Dutch in all the treaties of commerce between them and us, have had one ſettled plan, to obtain conditions excluſive of our trading with any other ſtate but themſelves, or advantages ſo extraordinary and exorbitant as muſt be equivalent to an excluſion. By this method they have completely diverted the channel of intercourſe between us and the northern nations. They

have eſtabliſhed their own regulations to our prejudice. For it may be truly affirmed, that treaties of this kind, founded in the miſtaken notions of our miniſters, and where it is evident that the ſeveral articles tend to an excluſive commerce with the Dutch, can neither be concluded nor maintained without a moſt refined policy, on their ſide, ſo as to inſpire us with jealouſy, and even averſion, againſt thoſe nations, with whom it is their intereſt to prevent us from having any connection.

The Engliſh, on the other hand, though ſometimes deceived by the artifices of the Dutch, have been particularly careful to watch their motions, and to endeavour to partake of the benefit of the treaties concluded with the republic; and perhaps our ill-judged preference on this occaſion has contributed more to their averſion from us, than the ancient jealouſy between the two nations. Hence we find that the conſtant aim of both the Dutch and Engliſh is to exclude France as the only formidable rival. They endeavour to render her either odious

or obſcure, to prevent their ſubjects from trading directly to her harbours, and from contracting ſuch habits as tend inſenſibly to remove any popular prejudices and the ſeeds of diviſion, to the end that they may be able to preſerve their alliances, and their influence in all public negotiations.

Such being the ſtate of affairs, our miniſters muſt meet with infinite difficulties, in making any impreſſion on foreign courts. The minds of the inhabitants muſt be diſpoſed to fear or jealouſy, according to the prejudices received from our rivals in commerce; ſo that they will have no connection with us. The members of the government are almoſt as ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt us as the common people. The preſent intereſt ſpeaks only in favour of the Engliſh and the Dutch, with whom they have contracted a familiarity by the old connections of commerce; ſo that no credit is paid but to theſe people, who are treated on the footing of friends. With theſe they trade and converſe, and to theſe they think themſelves

ſelves indebted for their wealth. But were they to open their eyes to their real intereſts, and reſolve upon entering into the ſtricteſt intimacy with France, they would be diverted from any ſuch purpoſe by the treaties ſubſiſting between the Dutch and us, which would intirely deſtroy their commerce, their navigation, and their fiſheries. Beſides, their commodities would be either prohibited, or made ſubject to impoſts from which the Dutch were exempted; ſo that they would look upon us with an eye of indifference, at the ſame time that they paid the utmoſt reſpect to the Engliſh and the Dutch; and every reaſon of ſtate would induce them to preſerve their alliance with thoſe nations. It is true, the abolition of theſe treaties would repair the damage; but with great difficulty and length of time. The people's minds are alienated; and their correſpondences and acquaintances are ſettled with other nations; obſtacles that even intereſt itſelf does not always ſurmount.

This digreſſion, Sir, upon trade in general,

neral, which to you perhaps may appear miſplaced, is not ſo however, conſidering the influence which the ſubject in hand has on the commerce of Cape Breton.

Had we regained the affection of the Engliſh at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, when the two courts ſeemed to be ſo favourably inclined towards each other; and had we given to them the preference before a nation, of whom we had far more reaſon to complain, and who ſooner or later are apt to requite our favours with ingratitude, our affairs would have taken a very different turn. But in vain did we promiſe at that time to ſettle a treaty of commerce advantageous to both nations; and in vain were thoſe promiſes renewed in the treaty of 1718. Nothing of all this has been done. Hence it is that the two kingdoms have continued at as great a diſtance as ever; and in conſequence of their reſentments, have mutually prohibited all importation and exportation of merchandizes, and their boſoms nouriſh the ſeeds of jealouſy and envy, which are

ready to ſhoot up. They watch, and endeavour to defeat each other's ſchemes. Whatever tends to the advantage of one of theſe kingdoms, immediately becomes an object of jealouſy to the other; and this diſpoſition is frequently the forerunner of an open rupture.

Yet France at preſent is ſenſible of the great occaſion ſhe has for opening her ports to all nations, and entering into a general commerce. For it is to be preſumed, that experience and neceſſity muſt have ſhewn her the means of extending and ſecuring her different branches of trade. But will her enemies conſent to it? Will not the Engliſh oppoſe her out of ſpite, and the Dutch through intereſt? A fermentation is raiſed in our minds, and we ourſelves ſeem to pick a quarrel with a people, by whom we know ourſelves to be mortally hated. I am afraid indeed the opportunity will offer but too ſoon. Yet how great a difference would it be to theſe infant colonies, conſidering the periodical calamities under which they groan, could they enjoy but a

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ſufficient duration of peace with their neighbours, and by means of a regular and juſt commerce, ſhoot up to a proper heighth and improvement. I would venture to ſay that the connections being once eſtabliſhed, it would be difficult to break them; that our animoſities would ſubſide; and we ſhould not have always the ſame work to begin again. Would to God it was in my power to divert the ſtorm, which I ſee gathering over our heads. It is really my regard for the general good of mankind, and the particular advantage of my own country, that excites theſe ſentiments within my breaſt; and it becomes a coſmopolite as well as an honeſt citizen, to point out the means of improving our commerce as I have done. Nothing further remains than to ſhew likewiſe the advantages thereof; which I ſhall be able to effect in my next. For this end I have only to acquaint you with the internal commerce of the iſland, with the trade now carried on with foreign nations, and laſt of all with that which ought to be prohibited. I am, &c.

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LETTER XIV.

Account of the trade continued; of the commerce which ought to be eſtabliſhed at Cape Breton; and of that which is now carried on with the merchants of New-England.

SIR,

THE moſt eſſential, and almoſt the only branch of trade at preſent carried on in our colony, is that of the cod-fiſhery. This is what ſupports the inhabitants, and finds them employment, conſequently is the article which the government ought moſt to encourage for the general good of the country.

The exportation of dry cod is effected by means of the ſhips that come from France, and from the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies. From France they bring every thing requiſite for the different veſſels and boats employed in the fiſhery: as likewiſe to the inhabitants the neceſſaries of life. The ſale of theſe commodities is made in the currency of the country, according to the greater or leſſer ſcarcity of

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proviſions, in exchange for cod ſometimes by quintal, a quintal and a fourth, a quintal and a third; but never higher; otherwiſe it would be a proof that there is great ſcarcity of proviſions in the colony.

The ſame veſſels are likewiſe laden with the neceſſary apparel for the inhabitants, as well as with the utenſils and different moveables ſuited to their uſe. Theſe goods the captains of ſhips either ſell for ſums of money payable at their departure, or for ready ſpecie; and the produce of this completes the cargo of cod-fiſh which they take with them upon their return to France. Sometimes it will happen that a captain of a ſhip, after diſpoſing of his cargo, ſhall have more ſpecie than is neceſſary to purchaſe his lading, and then he takes the balance in bills of exchange. Sometimes the caſe may be that the fiſh is very dear, and then he takes only to the amount of thoſe goods which he muſt neceſſarily barter, and then it follows that he brings back a greater number of bills of exchange with him.

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The ſhips from the Weſt-Indies import ſyrups, ſugar, coffee, and tobacco, but in leſſer quantity, always in exchange for the cod-fiſh, becauſe of the communication between this part of America for the maintenance of the negros employed in the Weſt-India trade.

As the colony of itſelf is too inconſiderable for the conſumption of theſe ſyrups, ſugar, coffee, &c. in order to promote the ſale and exportation of them, as well for the advantage of the inhabitants of the place, as for that of the merchants of the Caribbee iſlands, the Engliſh are permitted to come and trade to this colony, and to export this ſort of proviſions, of which they ſtand in great need. This is a very beneficial commerce to us, provided it be under a proper regulation, and that the Engliſh import no ſort of merchandize capable of prejudicing the commerce of France, and eſpecially that they import no cod-fiſh. The prohibition of the latter is the ſtronger for this reaſon, as it would be infinitely detrimental to the colony, ſince

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this fiſhery is our only ſupport. There is no doubt but we ought to be very attentive to this article, becauſe as the Engliſh have more extenſive colonies than we, and a greater fiſhery, they naturally look out for a vent for theſe commodities: beſides the temptation of intereſt might prompt ſome diſhoneſt people among ourſelves to deal with them; for, as I have already obſerved, our cod-fiſh is dearer than theirs.

However, they are permitted to import proviſions of various ſorts, as legumes, cattle, poultry, maze, or Indian wheat, oats, planks, ſhingles, timber, and bricks. As theſe ſorts of goods are not always ſufficient to make their returns, they pay the balance in ſpecie, and they likewiſe ſell to our merchants a kind of boats, called *goelettes*, which come cheaper than if they were made in the country, and are far more durable, being of much better wood than thoſe of Cape Breton. As there are very ſevere prohibitions againſt giving any money to the Engliſh, and on the contrary we ought to receive the balance in ſpecie

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from them, the trade with that nation muſt needs be advantageous to our colonies, and make us deſire a peace. Yet it would be ſtill infinitely more to our intereſt, were we to make the moſt we can of the country, in the manner I ſhall point out in another letter. In that caſe, our iſlands being provided with neceſſaries, would be abſolutely independent of every kind of commerce, that did not redound entirely to their advantage. With reſpect to the inhabitants of the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, we muſt give them ſome money as a bait; for they are extremely greedy after it, as there is profit upon the ſpecie from hence to the Weſt-Indies: but what little we gave them, would, if we pleaſed, be but a very inconſiderable part of the circulation of the Engliſh ſpecie, which as you may eaſily perceive, muſt make our fortunes, if a ſtrict regard was paid to union and commerce.

The fiſhermen of this country generally go out a fiſhing in their ſhallops. For

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the better conducting of this work, they endeavour to have thirty ſix months to aſſiſt them, and theſe being abſolutely neceſſary, the public good requires they ſhould not be wanting. Theſe thirty ſix months are men hired on the coaſt of Normandy and Britany, to go over to America and ſerve for that ſpace of time. The captains of ſhips, who come to this part of America, are obliged by the king's ordonnances, to tranſport a certain number of them, in proportion to the ſize of their veſſels. The greateſt part of the inhabitants, even thoſe who make the beſt figure in the colony, came over firſt upon this footing. Theſe are the people, who confining themſelves intirely to the commerce of the country, tranſact the whole of it by commiſſion. It is they that employ men in catching the fiſh, and that furniſh the reſt of the inhabitants. They ſtrike at every thing, and are always ready to throw difficulties in the way of ſtrangers. Nay, they frequently advance money to the inhabitants, and then oblige them

them to ſell their fiſh at a low price, when they might diſpoſe of it to a much greater advantage to foreign traders. They do worſe, for when the poor people happen to be diſtreſſed in winter for proviſions, they ſell the ſame fiſh to them again at a very exorbitant price. This ſort of abuſe does a great deal of damage to the colony; but there is no remedying it, unleſs you can puniſh ſome of the leading men, who are oftentimes the encouragers and tools of this iniquitous practice.

I am of opinion, that the ſame attention ought to be paid to theſe points, as to the king's edicts concerning contraband trade; yet I will ingenuouſly own to you that we are equally deficient in both reſpects. Not but that the means of obſerving them are poſſible, as you may judge by the following remarks.

It is evident, that ſo long as we ſtand in need of the commodities of our neighbours, we ought to trade with them; it is alſo evident, that when we can do without thoſe commodities, their trade with us

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may be doubly to our advantage, and of courſe it is our intereſt to encourage it, and to put ourſelves into that happy ſituation. But it is equally evident that all intercourſe whatever would become prejudicial to the ſtate, and of courſe in time to individuals, if by conniving at a contraband trade, we occaſioned the ruin of our own commerce and manufactures. Therefore this inconveniency cannot be too much guarded againſt; for which reaſon I have thrown together the following hints.

The contraband trade conſiſts in meal, biſcuit, pitch, and tar, and all ſorts of dry goods, as ſtuffs, toys, and other Engliſh merchandize, but particularly cod-fiſh. Yet theſe different ſorts of commodities are not only ſold in the harbour of Louiſburg; but the ſame trade is alſo carried on in the other ports and havens of the two iſlands.

The following is the common practice at Louiſburg. The captains of Engliſh ſhips are obliged to ſhew their bills of lading; but they take care to mention only ſuch goods as are permitted, and ſo uſeful to

this colony, that we can neither do without them, nor have them from France. I own indeed that upon their firſt arrival, a guard is ſent on board to prevent breaking bulk, before the veſſel has been viſited by the officers of the cuſtoms, who are to make their report whether there are any other goods than thoſe which the governor and commiſſary have permitted to be brought aſhore, and whether the bill of lading be faithful and exact. But theſe precautions are of little uſe. Thoſe who are entruſted with this office, are very remiſs. They make this inqueſt in a careleſs manner; and after they have done viſiting, and the cuſtom-houſe officer is withdrawn, the Engliſh captains, who generally hold a correſpondence with private traders in the town, find means in the dark night to ſmuggle ſome of the moſt portable merchandize, unmentioned in the bill of lading. In regard to heavy commodities, ſuch as cod-fiſh, flour and biſcuit, there are likewiſe merchants in town, who contrive to get thoſe goods removed in the night from

on board the Engliſh into French veſſels: ſome of theſe they enter, and the remainder they ſend to other parts of the colony.

There is alſo another manner of carrying on a contraband trade. Some of our merchants in this place, under pretence of purchaſing a quantity of cod-fiſh at Gaſpé, or at Pavos, both of which are dependent on the government of Quebec, and where it is cheaper than in our iſlands, give directions for buying it in Newfoundland and at the iſland of St. Peter's, which belong to the Engliſh.

Since the reſtitution of Louiſburg, we have frequently ſeen merchants from the iſlands of St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and Martinico, who come as paſſengers on board of Engliſh veſſels. The captains make ſome ſtay here, under pretence of ſelling off ſuch goods as are permitted; and when they have diſpoſed of part, the pretended paſſengers aſk leave to purchaſe theſe very ſhips together with their cargo's, which conſiſt chiefly in cod and other

merchandize, not mentioned in the bill of lading. Afterwards they diſpoſe of theſe goods to other parts of the colony, and divide the profits, as it is but juſt, with the Engliſh owners of thoſe ſhips, who are only at the trouble of changing their flag. On the contrary, ſhould the whole cargo be ſold off, the Frenchman, in whoſe name this ſhip appears to have been purchaſed, takes in a little fiſh merely for form ſake, then pretends he has completed his cargo, and is going to ſell it at Martinico. The officers belonging to the cuſtom-houſe believe him upon his word, and ſign his bill of lading, upon which he returns very ſafe to Boſton with Engliſh hands. At his departure from Louiſburg he puts out a French flag; and as ſoon as he gets to ſea, he hoiſts Engliſh colours. The ſame game he plays after he has taken in what lading of fiſh he pleaſes at Boſton or elſewhere, and in this manner he arrives ſafe at the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, where he ſells his cargo, for the account of thoſe who employ him in this hazardous practice.

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They do not uſe ſo much precaution in the other ports and harbours of Cape Breton. As there have been no officers yet appointed to ſearch foreign veſſels, the inhabitants have no ſcruple to buy their cod; which they afterwards carry to Louiſburg, and ſell it there, as the produce of their own fiſhery. Further, there are ſeveral merchants at Louiſburg, who have commiſſioners to buy this fiſh in diſtant havens, and bring it to this town; then putting it on board their own veſſels, where they have ſome fiſh already, they export it to the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies.

In conſequence of theſe underhand practices, the money goes out of the country; whereas, conſidering the quantity, and eſpecially the quality of our fiſh, the balance of trade ſhould be in our favour. Nay, we ſeem to connive at this abuſe, while we are extremely watchful in regard to the negro trade, which is alſo prohibited. Yet as it is very difficult to commit any fraud in the latter, without being diſcovered, it needs not ſuch a vigilant eye to

overlook it; whereas the utmoſt care is requiſite in regard to the former. I ſhall therefore begin with pointing out ſome of the particular methods for remedying the above abuſes, ſo far as concerns the harbour of Louiſburg.

As ſoon as the Engliſh ſhips come to an anchor, we ought to ſend, not only a corporal and four men, according to cuſtom, but likewiſe an officer, who ſhould ſtay on board till the ſearch was completed. Firſt, this officer, ſuppoſing him an honeſt man, would in all probability prevent the captain of the ſhip from bribing the ſoldiers. Secondly, his preſence would induce the cuſtom-houſe people to do their duty, eſpecially as he would be commiſſioned to give an account to the governor, of the manner in which every thing was tranſacted.

It would be likewiſe neceſſary, that the perſons belonging to the cuſtom-houſe, on their part, made a ſtrict ſearch into every thing without exception, in the preſence of the officer; and it would be proper, now

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and then, to remind them of the order and punctuality, with which this ſearch ought to be performed. In ſome caſes they ſhould make a ſecond ſearch, when thoſe veſſels are upon the point of returning to their own country. This happens particularly, when the bill of lading given in by the captains, mentions only ſuch goods, as neither the governor nor the commiſſary would ſuffer to be landed; and then it is right and prudent to inquire, whether they carry thoſe goods away with them. In ſhort, this ſearch is abſolutely neceſſary for foreign veſſels, which have been permitted to be ſold, and to change their flag.

The officers of the cuſtoms ought likewiſe to viſit all French veſſels, eſpecially thoſe which are ſaid to come from Gaſpé, and Paboze or Pavos; for theſe are the moſt ſuſpected. But in order entirely to put a ſtop to this ſmuggling, the governor of Quebec ſhould appoint ſome perſon at Gaſpé and Paboze, with a commiſſion to grant certificates to all captains of ſhips

that took in any lading of cod-fish in those ports, ſpecifying the quantity; which certificates the captains ſhould be obliged to produce at Louiſburg.

When a ſhip is ſuſpected of having any contraband goods on board, ſhe ought to be ordered upon the key, becauſe there ſhe is more in public view; beſides, no ſhip and cargo ſhould ever be diſpoſed of, without making a thorough ſearch. The captain of the port ought alſo to take his rounds every night, in his boat or canoe, with the utmoſt diligence.

A proper execution of theſe meaſures would infallibly prevent any further ſmuggling at Louiſburg.

In regard to the contraband trade carried on in the other ports and havens of the two iſlands, as there are no cuſtom-houſe officers to ſearch the ſhips, the want of theſe might be ſupplied by means of redoubts, which the government intends to erect in thoſe parts; and the commanding officer ought to keep a ſtrict look out to prevent the approach of ſmugglers and interlopers.

He ſhould permit no foreign veſſels to anchor there at all; conſequently they would be obliged to ſail directly to Louiſburg. But if bad weather, or ſome unforeſeen accident ſhould conſtrain any of thoſe veſſels to put into ſome of our harbours, the commander of the neareſt redoubt may permit them to take ſhelter, till they are in a condition to get out to ſea again. Still he ought to ſend a ſerjeant, or truſty corporal on board, to prevent their landing goods, or any of our people from going near them: this ſerjeant ſhould remain on board till the time of their departure. Thus the officer, at the ſame time that he obſerves the rules of hoſpitality, in granting all neceſſary aſſiſtance to ſtrangers, may be ſaid to conſult the public welfare.

Another part of his duty would be, not to ſuffer any boat whatever to ſtir out of the harbour belonging to his own juriſdiction, without having obtained an expreſs permiſſion from himſelf in writing, and taken the declaration from the captain or commanding officer of the place he is bound for;

for; and at his return he ſhould carefully examine whether he has not brought back any contraband goods with him.

It is however to be preſumed, that when the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms come to ſee redoubts erected in the different ports of the two iſlands, they will likewiſe appoint a proper officer to manage their intereſts: ſo that at all events, the contraband trade will be intirely ſuppreſſed.

But I begin now to perceive, that the part of legiſlator, which methinks I have acted tolerably well, has carried me far beyond the bounds I had preſcribed to myſelf. I have been ſo prolix, that there is no room to inſert a ſhort memorial of the ſteps neceſſary for a private perſon, or even for a governor, to enrich himſelf in this place. However, as theſe hints may be of ſervice to you, I ſhall, upon ſome future occaſion, communicate them to you in another epiſtle, after treating of matters more intereſting to you at preſent: beſides, the ſubject being an affair of calculation, is dry enough of itſelf to be conſidered as ſomewhat

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foreign to the purpoſe. But enough for this time. I am, &c.

LETTER XV.

Reflexions, or conjectures on Cape Breton; of a ſcheme for making Louiſburg impregnable. Plans and means propoſed to the court of France by Count de Raymond.

SIR,

WOULD you imagine it? The pleaſure I formed to myſelf in drawing up the regulations in my laſt, has been diſturbed by ſome very ugly reflexions. Do not think that this is owing to any defect in my projects: far from it, it is rather becauſe they are extremely reaſonable, and not only uſeful, but eaſy to carry into execution. The beauty of order and method is obvious to all the world. It fixes the attention of an enemy, who perceiving the benefits we have reaped from it, grows jealous at laſt, and endeavours to deprive us of this advantage. Beſides, as it is an inconveniency on the one hand, to ſtand in need of the daily aſſiſtance of our neighbour;

bour; on the other, it is very dangerous to have no occaſion for any dealings with him at all, eſpecially when we muſt in conſequence attempt to deprive him of a moſt beneficial branch of commerce. For then the old jealouſies and animoſities revive; difficulties are ſtarted; and endeavours are uſed to defeat our deſigns, as ſoon as they are begun to be put into execution. Hence we find, that nothing gives us ſo much offence, as to ſee a neighbouring ſtate attempt to ſhake off a connexion, which has been long to our advantage. Mutual dependance is certainly agreeable to the views of the creation; but that which ariſeth from ignorance on the one hand, and tyranny on the other, is inſupportable. Theſe conſiderations have inſenſibly led me to an enquiry after a proper remedy againſt theſe evils; and the following appeared to me the moſt adviſeable. In the firſt place, I think that we ſhould begin with putting ourſelves into a proper ſtate of defence againſt a foreign force, before we endeavour to rouſe it; we ſhould be ſure of the utility

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of our ſchemes, before we publiſhed them; and it would be even prudent to relinquiſh ſuch as could be of no great ſervice to us, becauſe the publication would be attended with more danger than profit. Upon theſe principles, if the government were in my hands, I ſhould fortify both theſe iſlands by degrees, and as it were in the way of amuſement. Far from neglecting the ſecurity of Louiſburg, I ſhould endeavour to render it impregnable, without ſeeming in the leaſt to alter the preſent ſtate of commerce. Then finding, that to ſupport this colony, coſts the king upwards of a million three hundred thouſand livres, I ſhould calculate, as near as poſſible, how much I ſhould be able to deduct from that ſum. I ſhould not think of making an intire reduction, nor trouble my head with a thouſand chimerical ſchemes on this account. The example of an able officer, whom I mentioned to you before, would not tempt me. Would you imagine, Sir, that this man ſhould take it into his head to rectify nature? He found that the cabbage, and

lettice, with ſome other legumes, did not turn to a proper account; and therefore he reſolved they ſhould make way for the real ſources of plenty. In conſequence of this noble ambition, he preſented a plan to the court, for clearing and manuring all the lands, which were afterwards to produce every ſort of grain.' This memorial was dated at Louiſburg, and might, with a juſter title, have been dated from the caſtle of *Alcine*, or from Merlin's cave. It abounded in high ſpeculation; in particular, the rules of multiplication were ſtrained to ſuch a degree, that whereas we have hardly grain enough at preſent to maintain twelve men, we ſhould have been enabled, by his magic art, to ſupport all the inhabitants of Canada, and no doubt but in time, the whole kingdom of France. But as, in all probability, he would have diſcovered the ſecret of changing our dry barren ſoil, our rocks, and our turf, into fruitful plains; and for my part, I am poſſeſſed of no ſuch wonderful power; I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to what I had been mentioning

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to you already, in regard to the cod-fiſhery, which indeed is our ſtaple trade, and with proper management, might be rendered a gold mine. Not but ſomething might be done on the iſland of St. John; which, beſide its natural productions in different ſorts of wood, of which I had before made mention, is capable of many improvements.

Firſt of all, the fiſhery alone is a very conſiderable article. A company that would undertake the management thereof, might, with a little œconomy, eſtabliſh a due proportion between the expence and profit; and the country being alſo more proper for culture, might be parcelled out to ſuch as muſt be maintained upon the iſland. The fur trade with the ſavages, is likewiſe of very great uſe towards increaſing the demand for our cod-fiſh; ſo that all we have to do, is to augment the number of inhabitants. By this ſtep the meadow lands would be improved; the cattle would multiply; and the ſeveral ſpots, fit for ſowing of corn, which are not near ſo ſcarce as in the iſle of Cape Breton, might

be turned to a good account. This ſcheme has been often propoſed, but never ſteadily executed; which has been owing to the great poverty of thoſe who are to put it into execution, and to the unfair and imprudent diſtribution of lands. Neither has there been any greater progreſs in peopling Labrador. It has been the opinion of a great many, that the fertility of this laſt country, with the commodiouſneſs of the cod-fiſhery, would draw over all the Acadians, diſaffected to the new government; and that the conveniency of entering upon the fur trade with the ſavages, who inhabit that country, would be ſtill a further bait. And to obviate the inconveniencies that might ariſe from theſe new ſettlements, and from the vicinity of thoſe very ſavages, care had been taken to aſſiſt the former with advanced ſums, in proportion to their neceſſities, and to keep the latter in awe by ſtrict vigilance and order, and by maintaining a body of regular troops.

There was likewiſe another ſcheme, which,

which, in my humble opinion, was the moſt plauſible of them all. You remember, that upon the firſt foundation of this colony, they had ſome notion of fortifying Port Dauphin. I told you their reaſon for giving the preference to Louiſburg. But it was not long before they became ſenſible of their error. Louiſburg, which they looked upon as impregnable, was taken in the laſt war: this, in all probability, would not have happened to Port Dauphin, or the enemy would have paid ſo dearly for the acquiſition, that we ſhould have no occaſion to bewail the loſs. Theſe conſiderations ſhould have immediately determined the government to enter upon ſuch meaſures, as muſt have been eſteemed a neceſſary precaution, ſince the cauſe of the quarrel ſtill ſubſiſted. But inſtead of that, the commandant, ſo often mentioned, and who, if I may take the liberty ſo to expreſs myſelf, had lulled the court into a lethargy, propoſed ſome other expedients of ſecurity. He took into his head to build redoubts, and for that purpoſe, opened the

road of Miré. True it is that thereby he facilitated the communication between Louiſburg and Port Toulouſe; but, at the ſame time, he paved the way for the enemy. For the Engliſh would have found it very difficult to march over bogs and precipices; but now the road is like a gravel walk. And very likely you will aſk me, what is become of the redoubts? In truth, Sir, there have been none built as yet: though he ſhould have begun with this article. So that I am much afraid, as things are now conducted, that the enemy will benefit by the conveniency, without meeting with the obſtruction that ſhould have been annexed to it. In this critical conjuncture, ſome well-diſpoſed perſons have revived the ſcheme of fortifying Port Dauphin. The advantages of its ſituation have been again inculcated, eſpecially that ariſing from the impoſſibility of entering the harbour with more than one ſhip at a time. The vicinity of Labrador, which renders the communication from hence, as eaſy as from any other part of the iſland, is a great addition

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to the importance of the deſign. I wiſh we would ſet about this work in good earneſt, that the affair may not end in mere ſpeculation; becauſe if deferred much longer, it will be too late; and its getting wind may be of dangerous conſequence. For I foreſee we ſhall have only the glory of being inventors of this ſcheme; and our ſole reward will be the honour we ſhall claim from the original plan. There is reaſon to believe, the enemy will ſoon excuſe our carrying it into execution. The ſtorm begins to gather over our heads, and we ſeem to be but very ill prepared againſt it. In this reſpect, our imprudence is ſo much the greater, as it is impoſſible for us, without being guilty of the moſt abject flattery, to ſay, that we have not contributed to it ourſelves. In ſhort, we are not only at the eve of a war, by which we are likely to ſuffer; but we have alſo the misfortune of having given room to ſay, that however untimely, it is our own fault. The Engliſh begin to be rouſed; which we have been convinced of for ſome time. But in order

to make you fully acquainted with theſe diſturbances, and that you may judge impartially between both nations, we muſt enter into a diſcuſſion of their old quarrels, and the different kinds of hoſtilities committed on both ſides; for as to their mutual diſpoſition, you are no ſtranger to it, having been ſufficiently informed thereof by my letters. Little does it ſignify which of the two nations declared themſelves openly: the real aggreſſor is he, that was the cauſe of the quarrel. Happy, if we could only charge ourſelves with having been too precipitate in diſcloſing our deſigns; or, at leaſt, if we had been in a condition to bear the conſequences of our imprudence. You ſee plainly, my dear Sir, that I am unboſoming myſelf to you with the moſt unreſerved confidence; which I have always done, and ſhall always continue to do on the moſt important occaſions. As it is the greateſt pain to me to diſguiſe my ſentiments, whenever I conceive a diſlike; ſo I am overjoyed, when I have an opportunity of opening myſelf to my friend, and declaring

claring the ſincere attachment, with which I am devoted to his perſon. I am, &c.

LETTER XVI.

Of the war between the ſavages and the Engliſh. Curious reflexions of the Count de Raymond upon this head.

SIR,

AS the war of the Mickmac, Marichite, and Abenaki ſavages is, to our great misfortune, very likely to kindle a general combuſtion, I ſhall therefore begin to entertain you with a narrative of this event. With regard to the origin, or ſecret cauſe of this very ſame war, it belongs to men of ſenſe and impartiality to determine it. Yet I think ſome hints may be drawn from a knowledge of the reſpective intereſts, which each of the two nations might have to infringe the peace. We ought alſo to enter into another conſideration of equal importance, in order to produce a diſpoſition of doubting, without which it is very difficult to form a right judgment. I ſhall afterwards entertain you with the different

intereſts, which the enemy and we may have in going to war, and ſhall weigh them with the utmoſt impartiality. The point, at preſent, is to examine whether the motives which the ſavages, our allies, had for going to war with the Engliſh, were real, or only pretended. If they are ſolid, there is no ſort of doubt, but the Engliſh are to blame, for rendering us accountable for their conſequences; but if, on the other hand, they ſhould appear to be ſuggeſted by us, and invented only as a pretence, then we are certainly the aggreſſors. For after all, it cannot be ſaid, that in caſe the ſavages build their averſion and hoſtilities on frivolous pretences, that it is not our fault. Every man is anſwerable for the miſchief he approves, and eſpecially when the perſon that does the miſchief is, in ſome meaſure, his dependent. But I ſhould be glad they could lay nothing more, than that tacit approbation, to our charge. Can the ſpeech of one of our commandants to the ſavages, which I gave you word for word, in one of my letters; can it, I ſay, be ſo favou-

favourably interpreted, as to wipe off this ſtain? The exhortations of prieſts, who have repeated the ſame things a thouſand times, and enforced them with the different diſpenſations of religion, of which theſe poor people think them the ſupreme depoſitaries; the purpoſes ordained by this very religion, as inculcated by theſe prieſts; all theſe circumſtances make too much againſt us, unleſs our quarrel is founded in the main upon equity and juſtice. In order to decide this important queſtion, we muſt firſt of all know what duties are enjoined by a treaty of peace, and what diſpoſitions it ought to promote in the contracting parties. In the firſt place it is certain, that a reconciliation, ſolemnly ſworn to, ought to be followed by an abſolute pardon of all paſt provocations and injuries. Could the human breaſt be ſo generous as intirely to forget every reſentment, the merit would be ſtill the greater; but thoſe who perpetuate their animoſity and revenge, without having received a freſh injury or provocation, are guilty of the moſt horrid perfi-

diouſneſs. In the ſecond place, a treaty of peace ſuppoſeth in the contracting parties, either an incapacity of continuing the war; or motives of conveniency, which make them deſire to ſee an end thereof; or very cogent reaſons which oblige them to it. In either of thoſe three caſes is it not certain, that we ought to reſolve to comply with a duty, which we are convinced, at the ſame time, is become an act of neceſſity? And is it not very probable, that though this reſolution may be ſomewhat involuntary in the beginning, yet it will afterwards ſit eaſy upon our minds from our natural diſpoſition to ſociety and repoſe? And can there be a more effectual method to weaken the ſtrength of the paſſions, which have operated under particular circumſtances, than to vary the ſcene by a more agreeable courſe of amuſements?

I do not mean to ſpeak here of thoſe ambitious ſtateſmen, (to give them no worſe epithet) whoſe minds are full of craft and deceit; whoſe hearts are compounded of ambiguity; who, in every treaty of peace,

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contrive to inſert ſuch clauſes, as ſhall furniſh them with a pretence to renew the war. I beg you will remember, that I am ſpeaking of ſavages, ſuch as I have already deſcribed to you, and ſuch as they are in reality; conſequently, that I am ſpeaking only of a ſimple people, whoſe tricks and cunning are but momentary ſtarts; whoſe views and purſuits ſeldom go beyond the neceſſaries of life; whoſe paſſions, after the firſt indulging, generally ſubſide; who moreover are of an open diſpoſition, and remarkable for a certain frankneſs in their behaviour, which though it may be ſomewhat ruſtic, yet is not ſo dangerous, as the addreſs of a polite diſſembler. Yet theſe are the men that violated the peace, to which they had conſented together with us, and who have alledged ſuch motives in their defence as perhaps we ourſelves ſhould have been aſhamed of. Though in the recapitulation of the grievances, the memory of which we took ſuch particular care to preſerve, you have ſeen the greateſt part of what the ſavages alledge, ſtill it is proper

to

to lay them once more before you. The ſame commanding officer, who knew them ſo well, has explained himſelf to court upon this ſubject, in the following terms. "The ſavages have never been able to "forget, the ſeveral efforts which the Engliſh in North America have uſed, at the "time of their firſt ſettling in that country, "in order to complete their utter deſtruction: which is the reaſon that they have "continually ſought for opportunities to "ſhew their utmoſt reſentment. They "have ever had preſent to their memories, "the actions I am going to mention."

But as this is only a recital of what I wrote to you in a former letter, I refer you to that once more, and as ſoon as you have peruſed it, you may return to what follows:

"Towards the beginning of the year "1750, the Engliſh, upon their arrival at "Chebukto, cauſed a report to be ſpread, "that they were going to extirpate the ſa-"vages; and they ſeemed to act accord-"ingly, by ſending different detachments

"of

" of their troops in purſuit of thoſe poor
" people. The ſavages being alarmed at
" this behaviour, reſolved to declare open
" war againſt thoſe whom they ever conſi-
" dered as their enemies; and notwith-
" ſtanding the weak condition they were
" reduced to by the peace, which we had
" concluded with the Engliſh, they deter-
" mined to loſe no opportunity, but to fall
" upon them immediately. Beſides, the
" Engliſh ſettlement at Chebukto hath
" provoked them to ſuch a degree, that
" there is room to believe, they will be
" for ever irreconcileable.

" And let it not be imagined, that the
" miſſionaries of the ſavages have any hand
" in this proceeding; were we to attend
" to the conduct they obſerved in the laſt
" war, we ſhould find quite the contrary.
" How many acts of cruelty would have
" been committed by this nation, who are
" naturally of a revengeful diſpoſition, did
" not the miſſionaries interpoſe in the
" ſtrongeſt manner to reſtrain them? It is
" very well known, that the ſavages ima-

" gine

" gine that they may commit what violence " they pleaſe againſt their enemies. And, " indeed, it has coſt an infinite deal of " pains to check this vindictive diſpoſition, " which they thought they might lawfully " indulge by way of repriſals; and this " charitable zeal has ſaved the life of many " an Engliſhman.

" Theſe very miſſionaries have it in their " power to ſhew manuſcript copies of the " inſtructions, which they gave to the ſa- " vages, concerning the moderation and " humanity we are bound to uſe, even in " time of war. They have likewiſe com- " poſed, on this very ſubject, a kind of " catechiſm, which they teach the children, " and it hath been already productive of " excellent effects."

Should not you be apt to determine from this memorial, that we did not blow the coals? Independently of the harangue, with which both you and I are ſo greatly taken, was I to blame in ſaying, that ſuch far fetched motives, the effect of which, in purſuance of the principle above laid down,

ought

ought to have been defeated by the peace, cannot but render us ſuſpected?

Yet there ſeems to be another cauſe of ill-humour and alarm, of a modern date. I mean the ſettlement made by the Engliſh at Chebukto, and the menaces that followed. I ſhould be glad that the public, whenever this point comes to be diſcuſſed, would ſuſpend their judgment; nay, I ſhould be greatly pleaſed to find myſelf miſtaken; for it muſt be always painful to a man of honour, to diſbelieve the apology of thoſe who want to juſtify their conduct, eſpecially when he happens to have an intimate connexion with them. But ſince I have the misfortune of knowing ſome facts which determine my opinion; and I ſhould be ſorry you were to conſider this as owing to party or prejudice; and beſides, as I promiſed to deal with ſuch ſincerity towards you, as whatever paſſes between us ſhould be an eternal ſecret; I ſhall continue to communicate to you whatever I know concerning this matter.

In the ſequel of this memorial, which

was

was preſented to the court, the commandant is ſaid to have added the following reflections.

" In drawing up the preceding memo-
" rial, I have had different views. I was
" willing to demonſtrate, that France had
" no ſhare in the declaration of war, which
" the ſavages made againſt the Engliſh;
" and that the motives of the former were
" juſt and well-founded. The particulars
" relating to theſe motives were communi-
" cated to me by a miſſionary of credit,
" who is a very honeſt man. Yet the
" miniſter may eaſily gueſs, that I have
" drawn this memorial in ſuch a manner,
" as it may be ſhewn to the ambaſſadors of
" his Britannic Majeſty; and that I have
" taken care not to inſert any of the barba-
" rous proceedings of the ſavages. Beſides,
" I have been at the ſame pains here to
" juſtify our conduct; for at my arrival,
" I found a great many, who were of opi-
" nion that we were in the wrong.

" True it is, that the officers who com-
" manded the detachments ſent by the go-
" vernor

" vernor of Canada, may have miſbehaved " in ſome particulars, eſpecially in ſuffer- " ing the ſavages to come too near their " poſts, or to join their troops to ours " within ſight of the Engliſh.

" I fancy I have likewiſe put a ſtop to " the complaints, which the Engliſh might " make againſt thoſe ſavages, who being " only allies, and not ſubjects of France, " cannot be hindered by us, from declaring " war whenever they pleaſe. In a word, " if I have ſufficiently demonſtrated, as I " think I have, the juſtice of theſe people's " cauſe in going to war, what have the " Engliſh to ſay to us, if we only protect " them underhand, and do not ſuffer them " to mingle with our troops, &c."

What is your opinion, Sir, of theſe declarations? *a great many of our people ſeemed to think that we were in the wrong.* Then why ſhould not the Engliſh, and even thoſe who are unconcerned in the quarrel, be of the ſame opinion? *Our officers have committed ſome miſtakes,* that is, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, *they have committed hoſtilities.*

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How can the Engliſh forbear making repriſals; and in that caſe, who would be the aggreſſor? And what think you of all theſe reflexions, and this myſterioufneſs in regard to public affairs? I confeſs I do not like them. Independently of ſo many circumſtances, I ſhould have formed this ſimple reaſoning; the ſavages have a thouſand motives for being attached to the French; for inſtance, motives of religion, and conſequently of confidence in their legiſlators; motives of ſympathy, either from a real ſimilitude of inclination in a great many things, or from a ſeeming conformity, which an obliging diſpoſition renders more eaſy; and laſtly, motives of conveniency, from their ſituation, manner of life and converſation.

In all theſe reſpects, the ſavages and the Engliſh are diametrically oppoſite to each other; conſequently, no likelihood that the latter could have any influence over the former. Beſides, the ſtep they took, by committing moſt barbarous hoſtilities againſt that nation, convinces us that they were not ſkirmiſhes, intended to bring on a general

neral war. In a word, which of the two nations, the Engliſh or the French, had moſt intereſt in this war, or at leaſt in diſturbing their neighbour, is what remains to be conſidered. But I ſhall reſerve my reflexions on this ſubject for my next, after which I promiſe you a faithful narrative of what has been tranſacted on both ſides, as each of them tell their ſtory. However, enough has been ſaid upon the preſent article, to leave very little matter of doubt.

I am, &c.

LETTER XVII.

Reflexions on the cauſe and origin of the preſent war. Theſe are not the Count de Raymond's reflexions.

SIR,

IN order to examine the preſent queſtion, that is, to know which of the two nations at variance had the greateſt intereſt to begin the war, we muſt go back to the ſource of the quarrel.

The famous treaty of Utrecht, to which, as the Engliſh pretend, France owes her

preſervation; and which the French, nevertheleſs, conſider as a dangerous remedy, though neceſſary at that critical juncture; this famous treaty, I ſay, muſt have been always viewed by able politicians, in a point of light equally oppoſite to both theſe ideas. Firſt, notwithſtanding the extremity to which France was reduced, a treaty which left her at the mercy of her hereditary enemy, was but a temporary reconciliation, and far from being a means to ſave her from ruin. Secondly, we have no reaſon to be pleaſed with a phyſician who does no more than palliate a diſtemper, when this very palliative lays the foundation of a malady, which proves inevitably mortal. Ambition had engaged us in a war, which we ought by all means to have avoided. The apprehenſion of its conſequences made us too precipitate in concluding a peace, which we ſhould not perhaps have purchaſed ſo dear, had we received the law from our enemies combined. For, let us ſuppoſe that France had been compelled at that time to relinquiſh the Spaniſh ſucceſſion

to

to the houſe of Auſtria, and the barrier towns to the importunity of the Dutch, would not ſhe have been able in time to repair theſe loſſes? But the Engliſh would alſo have inſiſted upon her ſhare of the ſpoils; no doubt of it: yet this ſhare would have been in proportion to the loſs ſuſtained upon the whole. Beſides, the jealouſy which the allies began to conceive of the Engliſh, would have greatly diminiſhed the proportion of the latter; and perhaps thoſe ſeeds of diviſion alone would have preſerved a power, which they wanted rather to reduce, than intirely to demoliſh. It is however certain, that the French government, under that dread and apprehenſion, could not think of a worſe method of attaining a little reſpite, in the opinion of all good judges. It would have been a hundred times better for us, had the ſacrifices, which we were obliged to make, been within our reach; we might, at leaſt, have taken an opportunity to recover them again, if ever we repented our bargain. But when we enabled an enemy, almoſt inac-

ceſſible, to aggrandize himſelf to ſuch a degree at our expence, that nothing could hinder him from ſwallowing up the remainder of our poſſeſſions, whenever he pleaſed; was not this much the ſame as giving ourſelves up to him, with our hands and feet tied? The naval force of Great-Britain is formidable, even to nations that have been at greater pains than we to rival them on that element; how much more ſo muſt it have appeared to the French, who have never made the firſt figure as a maritime power? Upon yielding Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudſon's Bay to the Engliſh, what reſource had we left, in caſe our new friends ſhould have been tempted by this bait, to covet the reſt of our poſſeſſions? Could it enter into our heads, that by rendering them more powerful upon an element, the empire of which we have ever in vain diſputed with them, we ſhould be the more able to defend ourſelves againſt an attack, after we had wantonly expoſed ourſelves to danger? Did we imagine, that we could invade them with flat-bottomed boats,

or fit out great fleets to cope with them at ſea, with the ſame eaſe as we might march an army into Flanders, or ſend a hundred thouſand men upon any of our frontiers? No, it is impoſſible our miniſters could have dreamt of ſuch chimeras; and the decay of our marine but too plainly proves, it never ſo much as entered their heads. Once more I repeat it; the treaty of Utrecht was the effect of conſternation and deſpair; the articles were drawn up, without the leaſt regard to prudence, and I doubt whether they were ſigned with ſincerity. Be that as it may, I believe it was our intereſt not to break it, till we could form ourſelves into a ſituation that depended on a thouſand concurrent circumſtances, which we had put altogether out of our power to combine. But having found ſince by experience, how difficult it was to raiſe ourſelves to ſo favourable a ſituation, and having diſcovered to our coſt, how greatly we had expoſed our weak ſide to the enemy, we began at laſt to think, that in order to prevent the intire ruin of our colonies, it

was incumbent upon us to make the moſt vigorous efforts. Theſe conſiderations led us back to the treaty, which had reduced us to that melancholy ſituation; and we found one way to get off. Whether this was left open with deſign, or whether our neceſſities uncloſed our eyes, ſtill we were under the ſame difficulty to make uſe of it. To wreſt a treaty to our intereſt, or even to break through it at once, is no ſuch great matter, when we have the greater weight of power on our ſide; otherwiſe it is a very dangerous attempt. In the latter caſe, the ſcheme may even prove detrimental to the projector, if he is not a perſon of ſuperior ſkill and ſtratagem. It is therefore evident, that we ſhould have uſed all poſſible endeavours, to recover that degree of force, which was neceſſary to looſen our chains; and it is equally evident, that we ought not to have given time to the enemy to rivet thoſe chains too faſt. Neither is it leſs manifeſt, that all theſe ſteps ſhould have been taken gradually; for inſtance, we

ought

ought to have ſtarted a diſpute, as it were by chance, after which we might have inſenſibly enlarged the object, and gained ground continually, at the ſame time that we concealed our deſign as much as poſſible, and were even proteſting the innocence of our intention; in a word, we ought to have ſteadily purſued this meaſure, till the time came that we were ſtrong enough to pull off the maſk, and to act without conſtraint.

Such is the conduct we ought, in good policy, to have obſerved, and what ſome pretend we have obſerved. Can we therefore conſider the accuſation as abſurd? No ſurely, the moſt we could do would be to deny it; for people very often omit doing, what one would naturally think they ought to have done. We ſhould therefore, in that caſe, have recourſe to proofs: but ſuppoſing theſe are contradictory; ſuppoſing the ſame actions are related in a different manner by the oppoſite parties, we muſt then have recourſe to the motives that determined their actions.

But here a notion occurs to me, by which this affair might very eaſily be determined, without diſallowing the pretenſions of either of the parties.

The French ſay, they did not want to go to war; but it was the Engliſh who deſired it: they ſay very true, if they mean an open and declared war. The Engliſh pretend, they were attacked, and obliged to defend themſelves: true, if by attacks they mean ſome little attempts made gradually, to diſlodge a formidable neighbour, and a few precautions taken to put it intirely out of that enemy's power to do us any harm. You ſee, Sir, we may reconcile both parties, ſince the events have two different aſpects, and it is our buſineſs to examine them thoroughly, when there is no longer any poſſibility to recall them. Yet in all probability, if the power of enchanting was ſtill in faſhion, as it is ſaid to have formerly been, there would be no diſpute at all in regard to this matter. We ſhould have begged the favour of ſome magician to faſcinate the eyes of our enemies, to render the

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ſhips we were building, and the forts we were erecting, altogether inviſible till the very moment it was proper to draw the curtain; for if we could have diſcloſed our deſign with impunity, they would not have had a word to ſay to us. On the other hand, if the Engliſh had ſuſpected any thing of the matter, they would have had recourſe in private, to the ſame good friends as ourſelves, and would have learnt how to defeat our deſigns, without being ſo brutiſh as to ſeize on our ſhips, and to fire againſt us the firſt. Pardon me, Sir, if for a moment I treat a very ſerious ſubject in a ludicrous manner. I am diverted to ſee people raiſing doubts where the ſubject will not bear any; and to hear a thouſand diſputes about an empty ceremony, with a multitude of arguments to juſtify, or condemn the want of form in a quarrel, while they give themſelves no ſort of pains to examine the main point in queſtion. For my part, I think that without ſuch a number of arguments and invectives, one need only to ſay, that it was the intereſt of France to wage war; but ſhe

was

was in no hurry; for ſhe wanted to gain her ends by ſlow and ſure meaſures. England had no motive in the world to deſire a war; but her enemy furniſhed her with good reaſons, and ſhe did not chuſe to wait for their conveniency. The former hath undertaken a point, which good policy directed her to undertake; the latter hath diſcovered what neceſſity obliged her to diſcover; one perhaps went too ſlowly to work, and the other too quick: both of them are in the wrong, till the ſumming up of the quarrel, when right will be on the ſtrongeſt ſide.

I grant you, that this way of reaſoning is not agreeable to all the world; neither do I write to all the world, but only to you. Yet, if after reaſoning upon this matter, as you are very capable of doing, you ſhould be deſirous of ſeeing how other people argue, I have promiſed you the narrative of ſeveral tranſactions that have happened in this country, without being anſwerable for the truth of any of them, though they happened almoſt under my own eye; for, to be plain with you, I can

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ſcarce believe any body but myſelf. In ſhort, it ſhall be a regular pleading; each party is to tell his reaſons, and you ſhall be judge. I begin therefore with ourſelves, which is very natural; beſides, we pretend to be the injured party, and God grant we may not have reaſon to ſay ſo hereafter, in the full extent of the word. I doubt at leaſt whether the enemy will diſpute with us about the juſtice of our complaint, if ever they carry their point; but that is a kind of conſolation, which neither you nor I deſire to ſee. The wiſhes of an honeſt man ought to be for the honour of his country; as thoſe of a good citizen ought to be for her welfare. Happy is he, who finds no oppoſition between thoſe two objects!

I am, &c.

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LETTER XVIII.

Account of what the Count de Raymond wrote to the French miniſtry concerning the pretended grievances againſt the Engliſh, whom he accuſed of being inclined to quarrel with us.

SIR,

I TOLD you that I ſhould begin with our complaints againſt the Engliſh, and I intend now to keep my word. You will find nothing relative to the pretenſions of our enemies, for we do not trace matters ſo high, and you ſhall receive the information from them. The preſent point relates only to ourſelves, and to the charge we bring againſt that nation; but in order to ſtate the affair clearly, I ſhall once more borrow the words of the commandant, whom I mentioned to you before.

" The following extract (this is what he " writes to court) containeth the tranſac- " tions between the French and Engliſh on " the frontiers of New France and Acadia, " ſince the peace of 1748, in which it is

" clearly

" clearly proved, that the Engliſh, on ſe-
" veral occaſions, violated the laſt, as well
" as former treaties.

" The governor of New France having
" received advice in 1750, that the Engliſh
" were going to ſend troops to thoſe parts,
" which were ſtill in conteſt between France
" and England, and at the time when com-
" miſſaries were appointed to regulate the
" limits, he ordered a detachment of troops
" to advance that way. Yet he gave di-
" rections to the commanding officer, to un-
" dertake nothing whatever that was capa-
" ble of altering the good harmony which
" ſubſiſted between the two courts; to avoid,
" by all means, being the aggreſſor; but
" only to repel force by force, in caſe he
" was attacked.

" The Chevalier de la Corne, who com-
" manded this French detachment, eſpied
" on the 12th of September 1750, in Fun-
" di Bay, ſeventeen ſail of different ſizes,
" which came to an anchor the 13th at Weſ-
" kak; and the 15th ſome of them parted
" from the reſt, and arrived in Fundi Bay.

" The

" The Chevalier de la Corne was then at " *Point à Beauſejour*, within five leagues of " *Bay Verte*, which is ſeparated from " Fundi Bay only by a ſmall river, called " Meſagoueche, or Saint Mary. He had " left part of his detachment at Weſkak, " under the command of the Sieur de la " Valiere, captain of a company of the " troops of Louiſburg, who perceiving two " Engliſh boats, with twenty armed men " in each, and colours flying; and judging " that their deſign was to make themſelves " maſters of ſome *pirogues* in the river of " Weſkak, which were ſtationed there with " a view to ſecure the communication be- " tween his detachment and that of the " Chevalier de la Corne, he diſpatched two " officers, with forty men, to enquire into " the real intention of the Engliſh. The " latter cocked their pieces twice, doubtleſs " with a view of inducing the French to " fire firſt. But the orders to our people " of not acting offenſively, were too clear " to admit of the leaſt contravention on our " part. This the Engliſh perceiving, re-

" ſolved

" ſolved nevertheleſs to break through all " reſtraint of treaty. They ſhot two " muſket balls at us, which we anſwer- " ed with ſo briſk a diſcharge, that they " were obliged to retire, greatly confounded " at their being the firſt infringers of the " peace. Yet they did not ſtop here; but " immediately erected a fort at Fundi Bay, " which is ſituated on a ſpot diſputed be- " tween the two crowns, and far be- " yond the bounds of that territory which " France lays claim to. It was not, till " after the erecting of this fort, that the " Chevalier de la Corne built that of *Point* " *à Beauſejour*. Theſe are facts which " prove, that the Engliſh, in open defiance " of the law of nations, have in full peace " been the firſt to commit hoſtilities againſt " the French, and took upon them of their " own heads to regulate the limits, for which " the two crowns had appointed commiſſa- " ries.

" They likewiſe commenced hoſtilities " againſt the French the following year.

" In the month of June 1752, a detach-

" ment

" ment of about three hundred Engliſh " troops, marched in the dead of the night " from a new fort, which they had erected " within a ſmall diſtance of that of Fundi " Bay. By break of day they were within " ſight of the bridge of Buot, where there " was a little French poſt, which the " Engliſh no doubt intended to ſurprize, " ſince they had paſſed the river between " them and this poſt, and begun, as ſoon " as it was day, to fire upon our peo- " ple. But the Sieur de Saint Ours, who " was at the Point of Beauſejour, and had " relieved the Chevalier de la Corne in the " command of thoſe poſts, having had " timely notice to give them a warm recep- " tion; they were obliged to retire.

" Here we have clearly demonſtrated an " expreſs violation of the treaty of Aix-la- " Chapelle, on the part of the Engliſh; " we ſhall now give an inſtance of the fair " proceedings of the French towards them, " and in what manner we were requited.

" The 15th of February 1751, a ſmall " veſſel, in her way from Boſton to Fundi

" Bay,

" Bay, was driven by tempeſtuous weather
" on the coaſt of Weſkak. The captain
" came and put himſelf under the protection
" of the Sieur Bailleul, who commanded
" on that poſt. This officer having been
" apprized, that the ſavages were flocking
" from that ſide, ordered the captain and
" his crew to be concealed at Weſkak mill,
" till the ſavages, who wanted to kill every
" man of them, were retired. He then
" ſent them back to the commanding officer
" at Fort Lawrence, who wrote a letter of
" thanks to the Sieur de St. Ours.

" In the month of July following, a ſmall
" veſſel, bound alſo from Boſton to Fundi
" Bay, was forced by a violent gale of wind
" upon a coaſt inhabited by ſavages, at
" which time an Engliſh ſhip lay over
" againſt them, that is, before Weſkak.
" The ſavages ran down to the coaſt, and
" hid themſelves behind a bank or cauſey,
" till low water, and then they boarded
" the veſſel. The Sieur de St. Ours being
" informed of this, diſpatched an officer to
" the Abbé le Loutre, their miſſionary, to

" prevent them from killing the captain " and his crew. In ſhort, we were obliged " to uſe both entreaties and menaces with " thoſe people to get the Engliſh out of " their hands, and the Abbé le Loutre " was alſo under a neceſſity of paying their " ranſom. Upon which, the Sieur de St. " Ours ſent them back ſafe and ſound; and " Mr. Henry Luttrel, who had then the " command at Fundi Bay, returned him a " great many thanks.

" Notwithſtanding all theſe kind offices, " the Engliſh ſtill perſiſting in their acts " of hoſtility, the ſoldiers or crew belong- " ing to one of their ſhips which lay off " Weſkak, landed upon the French terri- " tory, and purſued ſome of the inhabi- " tants that were going to *Point à Beauſe-* " *jour*. The Sieur de St. Ours wrote a " letter of complaint about this matter to " Mr. Luttrel, who ordered the meſſenger to " tell him, that he would ſend an anſwer " the next day. The ſame night he order- " ed a detachment of his troops, with two " field pieces, to paſs the river of St. Mary,

" which

" which is the boundary of the French and
" Engliſh poſts, and to demoliſh part of a
" bank or riſing ground on the ſide of the
" French. Upon this, the Sieur de St.
" Ours wrote the next day again to Mr.
" Luttrel. The purport of his letter was;
" he could not help being greatly ſur-
" prized that the Engliſh troops ſhould in-
" vade the territory under his command;
" eſpecially as it had been agreed, that each
" ſide ſhould wait quietly for the regulation
" of the limits, and Meſſieurs de la Jon-
" quieres and Cornwallis had given orders,
" that no hoſtilities ſhould be committed on
" either ſide; laſtly, that he would make
" him anſwerable for all the conſequences
" that might happen, and for violating the
" treaties. This did not hinder Mr. Luttrel
" from cauſing a detachment of about an
" hundred men to paſs the river the ſame
" night upon a ponton, with two field
" pieces, in order to demoliſh that cauſey
" intirely. The Sieur de St. Ours having
" had intelligence of this in the morning,
" marched with his troops directly towards

" the ſpot. As ſoon as the Engliſh ſaw " them drawing near the river, they fired " upon our men, and after a few ſhot " exchanged on both ſides, the former re- " tired.

" The Sieur de St. Ours having writ once " more to Mr. Luttrel, deſiring him to ex- " plain the motives of his conduct towards " the French, received an anſwer, the copy " of which was ſent to the miniſtry. Theſe " two pieces confirm the continuance of the " hoſtile proceedings of the Engliſh.

" Neither did they confine themſelves to " this open war by land, but committed the " ſame violation of treaties in the ſeas of " North America, with the utmoſt licen- " ciouſneſs, as will appear by the following " extracts.

" Ever ſince the year 1749, the time " when the Engliſh began to come over in " crowds to Chebukto, in order to ſettle in " that country, the French could not navi- " gate with any ſafety along the eaſt coaſt, " or even in the neighbourhood of the iſle " of Canſo and the bay of Chedabouktok,

" becauſe

" becauſe of the frequent menaces of that
" nation. They continued to build veſſels
" of all ſizes, to ſeize on every thing they
" met with, and even on the perſons of ſea-
" men, which was done on ſeveral occa-
" ſions. This very year, at Petit Degrat
" in Cape Breton, they took three ſhallops,
" with all the crew, whom they ſet aſhore
" for a while, but obliged them to go on
" board again, and ſent them back by
" land, after plundering them of all the
" cod which they had caught on the coaſt
" of Martengo.

" When they had made their ſettlements
" at Chebukto, they ſent out detachments
" all over Acadia, without any regard to
" ancient treaties, to oblige the French and
" their families to continue there with their
" goods and effects, as well moveable as im-
" moveable; otherwiſe to depart from thence,
" without taking away the leaſt thing.

" In Auguſt and September they ſeized
" on two miſſionaries, namely, the Sieur
" Girard at Cobequit, whom they kept pri-
" ſoner upwards of three months at Che-

" bukto; and the Sieur la Goudalie, whom
" they obliged to return to France.

" Since their ſettling at Chebukto, they
" have conſtantly kept ſhips of force cruizing
" in the paſſage of Fronſac, under pretence
" of tranſporting cattle from Acadia to the
" iſland of St. John, or to Cape Breton.
" They have likewiſe committed ſeveral
" other hoſtilities againſt the French veſſels
" going and coming from Cape Breton to
" St. John's, ſo as to uſe the reſpective crews
" extremely ill, and to ſeize on their cargoes,
" and ſometimes their veſſels, notwithſtand-
" ing that they produced the moſt authen-
" tic paſsports. If they have not acted this
" year in the above manner, it is becauſe
" France being informed of theſe proceed-
" ings, has kept ſome frigates cruizing on
" that coaſt.

" In the month of September 1749, Mr.
" Joſeph Gorhron, an Engliſh captain of a
" privateer, had the aſſurance to appear off
" the coaſt of Cape Breton, and even to
" touch at Port Toulouſe without permiſ-
" ſion, and repeated this piracy ſeveral times.

" In

"In 1750 they took, in the Strait of "Fronſac, one John Michaux, an inhabi- "tant of Port Toulouſe, together with his "boat, which they towed behind their ſhip: "then they obliged this man to pilot them "as far as Point Prime, in the iſland of St. "John, where they made him land, in or- "der to look out for proviſions, and to beg "leave for them to come aſhore; and the "Sieur Bonaventure, the commanding offi- "cer in that iſland, granted their requeſt.

"In the month of Auguſt of the ſame "year 1750, Joſeph le Blanc, an inhabitant "of Port Toulouſe, was taken by the Eng- "gliſh, and detained priſoner, together "with ſeveral other French men and wo- "men, during the ſpace of eight days; at "the expiration of which they were ſuffered "to depart, after they had been ſtripped of "their canoe, and of every thing in it.

"There are ſeveral other facts of the like "nature, which we paſs over in ſilence, and "which have happened ſince the peace, by "reaſon that we have not at preſent the "names of thoſe who have been ſufferers by

" the Engliſh; yet the facts are certain.

" The 18th of the ſame month of Auguſt " 1750, an inhabitant of Cobeguit, by name " John Ferguſon, was taken by the Engliſh " in the London, from Quebec, commanded " by Captain Jaluim, juſt at the entrance " of Vixchu. They carried the veſſel " to Chebukto, though there were only " ſome Acadian families on board, that " wanted to retire to Port la Joye in the " iſland of St. John, together with their " moveables and effects: but the Engliſh " took all they had.

" Theſe outrages were only a prelude to " the violence committed by Mr. Roux, cap- " tain of a frigate belonging to the king of " Great-Britain, who had the aſſurance to " attack one of the king's brigantines, " named St. Francis, on the 16th of Octo- " ber 1750, laden with proviſions, clothes, " and arms, for the French poſts on the " river of St. John. This brigantine was " carried to Halifax, and declared a good " prize, though the governor, upon re- " ceiving an accouut of the circumſtances,

" had

" had declared that Mr. Roux was in the
" wrong, and had even ordered proviſions
" on board the brigantine, with an intent of
" ſending her back. But as the papers and
" declarations of what paſſed in regard to
" this affair, have been tranſmitted to court
" by Meſſieurs Deſherbiers and Prevoſt, we
" ſhall wave entering any further upon this
" article.

" It is moſt notorious, that there has
" hardly a month paſſed ſince the conclud-
" ing of the laſt peace, in which the Engliſh
" privateers have not infeſted theſe coaſts.
" They have even appeared at the mouth
" of our harbours, as if they really in-
" tended to frighten us; and no doubt
" but their deſign was to ſound theſe har-
" bours, in order to invade us, upon the
" firſt favourable occaſion; and ſometimes
" we have ſeen five of their ſhips employed
" in this buſineſs at a time.

" The 28th of the ſame month of Au-
" guſt 1751, an Engliſh *garda coſta*, ſta-
" tioned near *Point à Beauſejour*, fired ſe-
" veral times upon a French canoe, in

" which

" which there was an officer, who had been " ſent from his poſt to *Beauſejour*, in ſearch " of proviſions. The ſhip's boat, with ſe- " veral armed men, rowed after the canoe; " ſo that the officer and three ſoldiers, " which was all the company he had with " him, were obliged to ſave themſelves " aſhore. After exchanging a few ſhot on " both ſides, the Engliſh returned to their " ſhip."

Here, Sir, you have a liſt of our grievances. The commandant of Cape Breton, who drew it up, would have had a more ſpacious field to diſplay his eloquence, if he had continued here much longer; for ſince his departure, there have been many other ſubjects of the like complaint. Yet I beg you will take notice of the evil genius of the inhabitants of this country: is it not amazing, that after ſuch a ſeries of Engliſh cruelties, any of our people ſhould have been ſo weak as to think we were in the wrong; and perhaps, to inſiſt in this opinion, had it not been for the trouble the governor took to undeceive us? For after all, this

charitable

charitable reflexion on our conduct, was ſubjoined to the memorial, which he had annexed to the juſtification of the ſavages; the whole, as you know very well, for the inſpection of the Engliſh commiſſaries.

It is however but fair, notwithſtanding what the commandant may ſay, (for there was no love loſt betwixt us) to add a word or two in juſtification of our opinion, which he has not refuted ſo ſtrongly as he imagined.

We all believed at that time, and for my part I do ſtill believe, that we ought not to judge of the juſtice of the cauſe of either ſide, from the actions of individuals; but from the nature of the diſpute, which gave riſe to thoſe actions; that is, we ought not to judge by the effect, but by the cauſe. As for our upbraiding the Engliſh, becauſe we have done ſome acts of humanity to people of that nation, the charge is not only groundleſs, but puerile; the former, becauſe the generoſity of a few individuals, which has frequently met with an equal return from the enemy, does by no means

deter-

determine the intereſt of a nation; the latter, becauſe thoſe very individuals had it not in their power to comply with thoſe impulſes of humanity, but on thoſe particular occaſions; in every other reſpect, they were obliged to follow the orders of their reſpective ſovereigns, to whom alone it belongs to determine the real intereſts of their people. Conſequenly there is no ingratitude, where duty and neceſſity are both a ſufficient plea.

With regard to the true reaſons of the meaſure that followed, I think I may enter into a diſcuſſion of them with ſuch a friend as you; which I ſhall take the liberty to do, after I have informed you of the grievances complained of by the Engliſh, and of their anſwer to ours, which I propoſe doing in my next. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XIX.

Diſcuſſion of the cauſes of the war; facts proved by the Engliſh, which refute the charge of their enemies, and juſtify their own conduct.

SIR,

THE Engliſh, previous to their anſwer to our complaints, propoſe a queſtion, which every body living is capable of anſwering, if we will not; it is this: the party who has bore with all kinds of inſult, private and public; who through moderation, love of peace, and perhaps through imprudence, has patiently ſubmitted to the encroachments of an active and vigilant enemy; quære, whether that party is obliged to ſit down quietly till he is completely ruined, upon pain of being conſidered as an unjuſt aggreſſor? Indeed there is ſo very little doubt concerning this point, and the law of ſelf-preſervation and defence, which nature has imprinted in our hearts, is ſo clear and expreſs, that our enemy immediately pro-

proceed to prove their charge. And firſt of all, they condemn themſelves for being ſo eaſy as to ſuffer our encroachments and uſurpations in the ſeveral colonies bordering on our frontiers; and it is very certain, that here they are in the right. What a blindneſs muſt it have been in them to ſuffer us ſo tamely to erect our forts on the back of their colonies, on the Ohio, and in other places? Did they imagine we ſhould not have ſenſe enough to conclude, that their acquieſcence was more than a tacit confeſſion, of our right to thoſe lands, which they did not hinder us from poſſeſſing? Or did they pretend to hurt us more by depriving us of a property acquired, than by oppoſing our acquiſition? In truth, I think that either way they were much in the wrong. The former was too hazardous a preſumption; the latter, too ingenious a refinement. But whatever they thought about this matter, I can hardly believe they ever dreamed of what has happened. And how could they foreſee, that our daily encroachments ſhould not only inveſt us with

the

the property of the lands we uſurped, but likewiſe give us a right to exclude our good-natured neighbours from any ſhare? Hence they were in the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, when coming to look about them a little upon the back of their ſettlements, they heard us ſay, Gentlemen, pray retire, here are boundaries, which you muſt not paſs. Where are thoſe boundaries, they cried out, and who has a right to preſcribe any to us in a country that is our own property? Nature, we anſwered them. Nature knew we ſhould have need of a communication with our colony of Miſſiſippi; that this communication would be very near your ſettlements; and ſhe has placed the Apalachian mountains betwixt us; this is a natural barrier.

What do you think of this dialogue? Don't you imagine the Engliſh might further add: Yes, indeed, we have in ſome meaſure reaſon to believe, that nature intended to favour you in this reſpect, ſince ſhe bewitched us to ſuch a degree, as hath enabled you to interpret her laws? But

they

they made no ſuch remark. They were ſatisfied with referring to the general laws and cuſtoms of nations. Upon this footing they obſerved, that ever ſince the firſt diſcovery of America, there had not been the leaſt doubt about the property now diſputed; that the Spaniards, and all other nations, had been ever conſidered, as maſters of the inland country, wherever they had taken poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt, unleſs ſome other European nation had been ſettled there before them; that this kind of poſſeſſion being generally allowed, it was not only unfair, but abſurd, to make exceptions againſt the Engliſh; that their forbearance, in regard to the encroachments of the French, ought not to deprive them of the advantage of this general rule, becauſe a mere forbearance never was conſidered as an abſolute agreement, or acquieſcence, much leſs as a renunciation of eſtabliſhed rights; therefore as they never imagined there could be any other boundaries, in reſpect to their ſettlements on the banks of the Ohio, than the South-Sea weſtward,

their

their own pleaſure, or an oppoſition from the natives of the country, they could not have preſumed, that their eaſy temper in ſuffering the French to occupy part of a country, of which they had no need at that time, ſhould make them forfeit their right of dominion, and even deprive them of the country which they actually occupied, or render it more burdenſome than uſeful to them.

Do not you think it is a very eaſy matter to determine a right, acknowledged in every other caſe but that in debate, where it is the intereſt of one of the parties not to acknowledge it? Do not you think the point too clear to take up any more of our time? Would not you ſay boldly, if you were not a Frenchman, let us do as we would be done by, without wreſting a general rule to our own private purpoſe? At leaſt, I think ſo; but ſhould not you be tempted to adapt this ſame reaſoning to the other point, which we would fain repreſent as dubious between the Engliſh and us; I mean the diſpute about the limits of Acadia.

When the Engliſh, before the treaty of Utrecht, diſpoſſeſſed us of that country, which is comprized under the name of Acadia, did not we demand it back again under the ſame name, and had not we the very ſame idea of it, as our enemies have at preſent? At what time did we alter our notion about its limits? If we had the ſame certainty concerning this article, as we pretend to at preſent, how came we to give the denomination of the ſmalleſt part to the whole, which we demanded back again? Do you think, that if we had taken poſſeſſion of England, the Engliſh would imagine they had demanded a full reſtitution, only by mentioning the county of Surry? But if people would explain themſelves ſufficiently, when the point was only concerning a reſtitution (and in that caſe it would be agreeing they had the ſame notions) ought not they at leaſt to explain themſelves when the queſtion related to a ceſſion abſolute and irrevocable? What ſhould we think of the Engliſh, if after ceding Virginia, or ſome other colony to us, they were to ſay: You

are much miſtaken, if you imagined that we intended to yield the whole country called Virginia at the time of the reſignation; we only deſigned to give you our original ſettlement? This is what we heretofore called Virginia, and really belongs to you; all the reſt is ſtill our property. This ſubterfuge in the beginning would make us laugh (for that is the firſt effect an object of ridicule hath upon a Frenchman, let the conſequence be what it will) and afterwards we ſhould rail in the Engliſh way, with as much apparent ſegm, as real fury. But did the French continue to live in that country, which we are no longer willing to conſider as part of Acadia, after the treaty of Utrecht? Yes, ſurely, the Engliſh will reply; nay, we had made this a condition. It behoved us, that the country we had ſo lately acquired, ſhould not be depopulated immediately; but at preſent we would ſooner chuſe to ſee it intirely waſte, than to find that our new ſubjects held a ſecret correſpondence with our enemies, or that we ſhould be perpetually obliged to be upon

our guard againſt the ſnares of thoſe, whom we ourſelves enabled to hurt us.

I know not what anſwer can be given to theſe reaſons: indeed the ſhorteſt way is to deny their ſolidity; and do you imagine it would be worth while to prove it? No ſurely; therefore both nations have thought proper, for motives of a different nature, but eaſy to gueſs at, to drop the original cauſe of the quarrel, which was too trifling for one ſide to merit a longer diſpute, and of too much conſequence to the other to anſwer all objections. It remains therefore for us to imitate their conduct; and ſince while they amuſe themſelves with the expectation of a peace, they only rail at one another for having commenced the war, let us follow their example.

You ſee, Sir, that with my wonted impartiality, I have weighed our grievances, together with the ſtrong reaſons we have to complain of the Engliſh; you have likewiſe ſeen, that notwithſtanding my natural inclination, I have ſhewn too great a re-

gard for truth to make the balance preponderate on our ſide. Let us now inquire whether our enemy's apology will anſwer their deſign, better than ours hath done ours. I ſhall wave the ſeveral complaints, which the Engliſh make againſt our encroachments from the peace of Utrecht to that of Aix-la-Chapelle. This laſt treaty ought to have effaced the memory of them, or at leaſt, ought to have made us hope for mutual redreſſes, and neceſſary explications. While we waited for the effect of thoſe promiſes, both ſides had agreed to a ſuſpenſion of all hoſtilities; ſo that we muſt confine ourſelves to the ſteps that have been taken ſince that period. The following is the account given by the enemy, which we ſhould find extremely difficult to invalidate.

"The court of Verſailles has always "looked upon North America, as an ob-"ject worthy of her chief attention, and "without all doubt has formed a plan "to make herſelf miſtreſs of it; a plan "which ſhe has ſteadily purſued, though

 "with

" with all the privacy and art imaginable.
" However, ſince the treaty of Aix-la-
" Chapelle, the French have diſcloſed their
" views more openly, becauſe they have
" purſued them with greater warmth, their
" encroachments having been more nume-
" rous, and their hoſtilities more violent.
" In the province of Nova-Scotia, here-
" tofore Acadia, they have erected a fort
" near Bay Verte, from whence they have
" an eaſy communication by water with
" Louiſburg, Canada, and the other French
" ſettlements. They have likewiſe erected
" another, mounting upwards of thirty
" guns, which commands the further end
" of the Bay of Fundi. They have made
" themſelves maſters of the river of St.
" John, and built thereon two forts, from
" which they have had the inſolence to fire
" againſt one of the king's ſhips. They have
" run away with all the trade, which before
" this laſt peace belonged intirely to the
" Engliſh; ſo that conſidering all things
" properly, the French, and the ſavages
" under their command, are more effec-

"tually maſters of this whole province "than we. They have aſſiſted, and ſtirred "up thoſe people againſt us, and of "courſe are anſwerable for the barbarities "committed. This is as eaſy to prove "as the endeavours they uſed to break "the treaty of peace, which we had con-"cluded the 22d of November 1752, with "the Mickmaks and Malechite ſavages; ſo "that not content with employing their "miſſionaries to perſuade them to violate "this treaty, even the governor of Louiſ-"burg made an harangue to thoſe people "himſelf with this ſanguinary deſign.

"Since this ſame treaty of Aix-la-Cha-"pelle, they have erected ſeveral forts in "the country of the Iroquois, who are "under the protection of the Engliſh; "among the reſt, one on the north ſide "of the lake Ontario, directly oppoſite to "the Engliſh fort Oſwego. They have "alſo built a large ſtrong houſe to trade "with the ſavages between the lakes Erie "and Ontario, weſtward of the great fall "of Niagara, with a view to prevent the

" paſſage of thoſe ſavages, who aſcend the " lake in their way to Oſwego.

" In the year 1753, they marched a con- " ſiderable body of regular troops, militia, " and ſavages, into the country of the " Iroquois, though the latter had entreat- " ed them, ſeveral times, to deſiſt. Nay, " they threatened to deſtroy every body that " oppoſed their deſign.

" The ſame year they built two forts; " one upon the river that falls into the lake " Erie; and the other at the diſtance of " fifteen miles upon the river *aux Boeufs*, " which empties itſelf into that of the Ohio.

" Early the next year they marched " to the little Engliſh fort at the paſs " of Mohagouata, below the river Ohio, " which being but weakly guarded by " a few troops from Virginia, ſurren- " dered by capitulation at the firſt ſum- " mons. Some time after, a body of " twelve hundred French attacked Major " Waſhington, who commanded the troops " from Virginia, conſiſting of about three " hundred men, and obliged him to ſur-

" render,

" render. This is the very officer that the " French have ſo often charged with the " pretended aſſaſſination of the Sieur de Ju- " monville; a charge they ought to be " aſhamed of, after the murder of Mr. " How, which was done at their inſtigation " by the ſavages of their party, as he was " on his return from a conference of their " own appointing, whither he had went in " full reliance upon the law of nations. " The caſe was otherwiſe, as every body " knows, in regard to Major Waſhington. " He miſtook, which was very natural, the " Sieur de Jumonville, and the ſoldiers that " attended him, for a detachment of the " enemy that was coming to attack him; " and there is no doubt but in duty to him- " ſelf, and to his own preſervation, he ought " not to have waited quietly for the enemy. " The many hoſtilities which he had expe- " rienced on the part of the French, ſhould " have forewarned him not to preſume, " that they had ſent an ambaſſador to him " with ſuch a train. But let the French " make as much noiſe as they pleaſe, about

" an

"an accident, at which we were more "grieved perhaps than they themſelves; "for if it were not for this melancholy "affair, they would have loſt one of their "moſt diſmal ditties: neither let us an- "ſwer them in the ſame tone, notwith- "ſtanding the advantage we have from the "date of the murder of Mr. How; let us "return to aggreſſions, no way owing to "untoward accidents.

"Beſides ſeveral other forts, too tedious "to enumerate, which they erected on the "territories in diſpute, and on thoſe in our "poſſeſſion, in defiance of the treaty of "Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la- "Chapelle; they have continually diſturb- "ed the commerce of his Britannic ma- "jeſty's ſubjects. They have ſeized, as well "in their own territories, as in thoſe of "the ſavages their allies, and even in thoſe "of the Iroquois, who are in alliance with "us; they have ſeized on all the Engliſh "goods they met with, and have even de- "clared, that they would make every man a "priſoner, who paſſed through the country

"in

" in their poſſeſſion; a declaration made
" after they had been informed, that three
" hundred Engliſhmen were ſet out from
" Penſylvania upon the faith of thoſe trea-
" ties, in order to trade with the ſavages.

" With regard to the artifices of the
" miſſionaries to prejudice the ſavages againſt
" us, and to inflame even the minds of
" thoſe, whom the moſt ſolemn oaths ought
" ſurely to have reſtrained, they are too
" notorious to be repeated. But if they are
" ſo ſucceſsful in impoſing upon ſimple
" and credulous people, under the cloak of
" religion, it is to be preſumed, that ſuch
" wicked ſucceſs will prove fatal at length
" to themſelves. What can our enemies
" do more? They can tell us, in plain
" terms, that they do not declare war
" againſt us, and do not we know it? And
" is it not evident, that the reaſon of their
" deferring this formality, is becauſe they
" do not think themſelves as yet a match
" for us? for notwithſtanding the territory,
" which they have gradually uſurped from
" us, they are not as yet able to maintain

" a con-

"a conſiderable number of troops. All "we had therefore to do, was to wait for "the critical moment, when their ſcheme "was ripe for execution; and ſurely it "was abominable, that we had not pa-"tience to wait. But we may well deſerve "this cenſure, after the reproach that has "been caſt upon us even by the ſavages. "An envoy of the ſix nations addreſſed "himſelf publicly in theſe words to the "king's commiſſary, at a conference in "Albany: You talk, ſaid he, of your "forces; where are they? The French "erect forts, and keep them after they are "erected; and the Engliſh cannot hinder "them. The French act like men; the "Engliſh like women."

How ſtinging muſt this ſpeech have been, and how mortifying to men of ſpirit? Is it then ſurprizing, that after the ſeveral allegations of the Engliſh, of which I have given a compendious account, they have at length been rouſed to a neceſſary degree of reſentment?

But theſe accuſations being diametrically oppo-

oppoſite to thoſe of the French, you would fain know whether they are well founded, and which of the two we are to believe? I'll tell you frankly. In regard to the facts, you may believe both ſides; only you are not to depend ſo much on dates and circumſtances; and in this reſpect we were charged here with giving it againſt ourſelves. For inſtance, we were convinced of the truth of every thing the Engliſh advanced; we knew for certain the ſchemes that were executed almoſt under our noſes; we were grieved to ſee the ſavages excited to commit barbarities, which ſome time or other muſt fall upon their own heads, and you have not forgot what I ſaid to you upon this ſubject. When the Engliſh turned the tables upon us, we were not at all ſurprized. But it was their forbearance that aſtoniſhed us. Not one of us will deny that they attacked us in the neighbourhood of Weſkak; but every honeſt man will confeſs, that all they meant by it was to hinder us from making any new works, and to deſtroy ſuch as had been already erected. In regard

to

to the ſorts which we are blamed for, and for which we blame ourſelves, there is not ſo much as a common peaſant in this place but would be able to condemn us, without going to ſee whether there was a date on the frontiſpiece. I own, indeed, it is a misfortune for us not to be able to diſpute about facts, as you have done in Europe: to make us ſome amends, we have leiſure enough to inquire into the cauſe of thoſe facts, and we have the ſatisfaction, which a generous breaſt always enjoys, of being able to do juſtice even to an injured enemy.

I foreſee very plainly, that this generous diſpoſition will ſoon be tried: it ſeems as if the enemy, whom we have lately provoked, were preparing to return the miſchief we have done, or evidently intended to do to their nation. I believe they will ſet about it without any manner of ceremony, and if we come to reflect upon our conduct, we cannot condemn them.

How melancholy our ſituation! we have involved ourſelves in a bloody quarrel before we were prepared for our defence: we have

taken

taken ſuch ſteps as are equivalent to a declaration of war, without waiting till we had no reaſon to be afraid of performing this ceremony. How blameable our conduct in every reſpect! Do you imagine that he who ſhall accuſe the enemy of not having paid a proper reſpect to the law of nations, by which a cuſtom ſo worthy of humanity has been eſtabliſhed, will gain any great matter by this recrimination; or that he who ſhall find it ſo eaſy to excuſe the enemy, will like to do it at the expence of his own party? Yet one of theſe ſides muſt we embrace; for there is no medium: the thunder rattles and is ready to burſt, as you will find by the narrative in my next, which I have received but juſt this minute. Enough, and too much for the preſent: the ſubject is ſo diſagreeable as to oblige me to break off. I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER XX.

The taking of the Alcide and the Lys by the Engliſh; the ſurrender of Fort Beauſejour, *and other events preparatory to a declaration of war.*

SIR,

IF I have not been able hitherto to ſend you any papers of conſequence in favour of the French, it is not ſo much my fault as theirs; and you may judge of the ſatisfaction I ſhould have in doing it, from the following relation, which I ſend you, according to my promiſe, without the leaſt abridgment.

Relation of what paſſed at the taking of the Alcide by the Engliſh ſquadron, conſiſting of eleven men of war, under the command of Admiral Boſcawen.

" The 29th of May the king's ſquadron, " commanded by M. du Bois de la Mothe, " had lain by for ſome days, on account of " the fog and want of wind. Towards " ſix in the evening, the weather cleared up " a little, with a ſmall ſouth-eaſt breeze.

" This

" This however did not laſt long, for no
" ſooner were the ſhips got together again,
" than the fog became as thick as ever.
" At that time the Algonquin, the Eſpe-
" rance, and the Opiniatre were miſſing. In
" the night the weather grew exceſſive bad,
" there being a ſtrong ſouth-weſt wind, with
" heavy rain, and ſo thick a fog, that we
" could not ſee the length of the ſhip. We
" paſſed by a huge bank of ice, which we
" diſcovered only by its whiteneſs, and by
" a very thick ſmoke. It was as much as
" we could do to double it. The 30th,
" the ſouth-weſt wind, and bad weather
" laſted all day. I ſtill continued the ſame
" courſe nearly weſt north-weſt, keeping
" with the reſt of the ſquadron, and mak-
" ing ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs
" ſail, in order not to loſe company. All
" this while we made ſignals to one ano-
" ther, with our bells. Towards four in
" the afternoon we heard no more ſignals,
" whether it was that the ſhips had chang-
" ed their courſe; or that the admiral had
" made a ſignal to tack about, and I had

" been prevented by the badneſs of the
" weather from hearing it. I ſtill kept on
" my courſe weſt north-weſt till ſeven in
" the evening, when I obliged my firſt
" pilot to make the point, which was but
" nine or ten leagues eaſt ſouth-eaſt off
" Cape de Raze. I could ſteer no other
" courſe than weſt north-weſt, which
" brought me juſt upon it; beſides, the bad
" weather ſtill continued, the wind at
" ſouth-weſt, and a thick fog. At half
" an hour after four we ſaw no more of
" the fleet, nor of the admiral; nor had I
" taken any elevation of the pole ſince the
" 20th. I then reſolved to lie by, and to
" wait till it cleared up, for it was not pru-
" dent to run into imminent danger. "

" The 31ſt in the morning, I ſaw the
" Lys, and in the afternoon the Aquilon,
" which had parted with the ſquadron the
" ſame day as myſelf, and nearly for the
" ſame reaſons. "

" The 4th or 5th of June, the Aqui-
" lon parted with me in a fog. The 7th
" the Dauphin Royal, which had likewiſe

" parted

" parted company the ſame day, came up
" to me after we had made ſignals to each
" other. Towards ſix in the evening, the
" wind being very ſlack, and weſt north-
" weſt, we eſpied from our main top-maſt
" eleven ſhips to the eaſt north-eaſt, at the
" diſtance of five or ſix leagues. Judging
" this might be our ſquadron, I made to-
" wards them. But ſtill having ſome
" miſtruſt, I was reſolved to be thoroughly
" ſatisfied about the matter before night.
" I therefore drew only within ſuch a di-
" ſtance, as to find out the ſignals. The
" wind ſtill abating and the ſea being per-
" fectly calm, our three veſſels lay by.

" The 8th, by break of day, a freſh
" gale ſpringing up in the ſouth, I found
" myſelf advanced within three leagues of
" the ſquadron, which I had taken for
" ours. I made the proper ſignals, to
" which the enemy gave no anſwer, but
" crowded all the ſail they could to come
" up with me. For my part, I bore away
" to the north-weſt, which ſeemed to me
" the beſt courſe I could take in my pre-

" ſent ſituation, making the rear with the
" Lys, and the Dauphin Royal the van.
" In this order we continued our courſe,
" with a very ſlack ſouth-weſt wind, which
" is a conſiderable advantage to the Eng-
" liſh, becauſe their main ſails are much
" lighter, and their other ſails much larger
" than ours. As they ſenſibly advanced upon
" us, I hoiſted my colours, and fired a gun
" with powder only; they likewiſe hoiſt-
" ed theirs, but without firing. I reckon-
" ed, by the courſe I was ſteering, and by
" hoiſting French colours, I ſhould draw
" the beſt ſailing ſhips of the enemy upon
" me, and give time to the two tranſports
" to make their eſcape. Between ten and
" eleven in the forenoon, the Dunkirk
" of ſixty guns, in company with two
" other ſhips of the ſame force, the ad-
" miral of ſeventy-four guns, and the
" reſt of the ſquadron, bore down upon
" me, within ſuch a diſtance, that I
" might have raked them moſt terribly, if
" I had dared to begin the attack. The
" ſea was as ſmooth as glaſs, with very
" little

" little wind; and though I made no doubt, " from the enemy's motions, but they in- " tended to fight me, ſtill I was reſolved to " wait till they commenced hoſtilities. For " when I left Europe, there had been no " war declared; and I was thoroughly ſen- " ſible of the conſequence of being the " aggreſſor. I was very ſure the enemy " would make a handle of it to charge me " with having begun the war, for which I " ſhould be blamed over all Europe. Theſe " reflexions however hurt me greatly.

" As ſoon as the Dunkirk, Captain " Howe, came near enough to be ſpoke " to, he worked his ſhip in ſuch a manner, " as if he intended to board me: and I " thought ſo myſelf for ſome time. Yet as " I wanted to know what he would be at, " I begged of Meſſieurs de Roſtaing, de " Vaudreuil, Somerville, and Drelincourt, " to mind what I was going to ſay to the " captain of the Dunkirk. Meſſieurs du " Moulin and Geoffroy, and the Chevalier " de Percevaux, who were upon the ſtern, " did not loſe a ſingle word; and the

" whole ſhip's crew were very attentive.
" I therefore made our people call out
" aloud three times in Engliſh, *are we at*
" *peace or war?* They made anſwer, *we do*
" *not underſtand you.* The ſame queſtion
" was then aſked in French, and we had
" the *ſame anſwer.* I then took the ſpeak-
" ing trumpet, and aſked twice again;
" *are we at peace or war?* The captain an-
" ſwered me twice himſelf, very diſtinctly,
" and in good French, *la paix, la paix;*
" *peace, peace.* Yet the ſignal to engage
" had been made ſome time before on board
" the admiral by a red flag. I aſked again,
" what was the admiral's name? they an-
" ſwered me, Admiral Boſcawen. I know
" him, ſaid I; he is a friend of mine; and
" you, Sir, replied they, may we know your
" name? I made anſwer, Hocquart. The
" converſation was not long. No ſooner
" had I pronounced my name, and the
" enemy the word *peace*, but they imme-
" diately poured a broad-ſide into us from
" their upper and lower tiers, with a diſ-
" charge of their ſmall arms, which was

" declaring war. Their guns were charg-
" ed with croſs-bar ſhot and pieces of braſs
" and old iron. The ſea was too calm to
" loſe a ſingle ſhot, and we were ſo near
" to the enemy, that the mouths of their
" guns touched our ſhips. This, together
" with the confidence inſpired by the word
" *peace*, from the mouth of a captain, made
" us loſe a great many men; yet our fire
" was neither retarded nor ſlackened, but
" part of the helm being carried away by an
" unlucky ſhot, the pilot was forced to aban-
" don it. My rigging was all cut in pieces,
" or become uſeleſs. In this ſituation I
" found myſelf expoſed to five or ſix of the
" enemy's ſhips, which ſurrounded me on
" every ſide, and among the reſt, the vice
" admiral's. Still I continued firing for
" ſome time with the utmoſt vivacity, and
" facing the enemy on every ſide, as well
" as the weak condition of the men under
" my command would permit. Some of
" them had already begun to fly from their
" guns. By this time I had loſt a hun-
" dred, killed and wounded, four officers
" ſlain,

" ſlain, and ſeveral diſabled by their wounds,
" The rigging was damaged, the ſails were
" tore away, the main-maſt was pierced
" through the middle with two cannon
" ſhot; the fore top-maſt was ſhattered
" and ready to come by the board; the
" yards were cut; all the maſts were da-
" maged, and ſeveral of our cannon diſ-
" mounted. Finding myſelf in this de-
" plorable ſituation, without any hopes of
" eſcaping, and being deſirous to preſerve
" the lives of a number of brave fellows, who
" had ſo valorouſly ſuſtained a moſt un-
" equal combat, I thought proper to ſubmit.
" Still I would not ſtrike to any but to the
" admiral; and having attacked him at
" length within muſket ſhot, and killed,
" as he told me himſelf, two of his men,
" and wounded ſeveral, I received two
" broad-ſides from him, with both his
" upper and lower guns. Then I ſtruck,
" and was immediately ſurrounded by al-
" moſt the whole Engliſh ſquadron, having
" fought with every one of them in their
" turn.

"Whilſt I was thus engaged, the enemy "had diſpatched two ſhips after the Dau- "phin Royal, which could not come up "with her; and three more after the Lys, "which they took. I ſaw this ſhip make "a gallant defence, ſo long as ſhe was "able to make uſe of her guns; but "being put betwixt two fires, and out "of reach of muſquet-ſhot, ſhe received "ſeveral broad-ſides, to which ſhe could "make but a very feeble return, ſo that "at length ſhe was obliged to ſubmit."

Now what is your opinion, Sir, in regard to this narrative? Do not you think it would decide the matter in our favour, if we had always acted with the ſame candour and ſincerity as M. Hocquart. Indeed this worthy captain carried his delicacy as far at leaſt as his bravery. To ſee himſelf chaced by a ſquadron, which he immediately pronounced to be the enemy's; to behold the ſignal for an engagement, and yet to be ſo obſtinate as to enter into a friendly converſation; to give more credit to a few words from a private captain, than to the

declaration ſignified by the admiral; and after all, not to be convinced till the ſmall arms *had made a declaration of war*, is very extraordinary. In order to heighten the glory of this proceeding, I ſhould have been pleaſed, if M. Hocquart had behaved thus at the head of a ſquadron of eleven ſhips to three. But what excuſe do you think the Engliſh pretend to make for this behaviour? In truth, they do not trouble their heads about any, but laugh at us. They pretend that their Captain Howe had better inſtructions than M. Hocquart, though the latter was juſt come from Europe; that he gave the ſame ſignification to the word *peace*, as the French had done in America; that a lye which cannot cauſe a deception, is no lye, according to ſeveral of our caſuiſts; that M. Hocquart ought not to have believed a jeſt which was ſaid by way of reprizals, preferably to the admiral's red flag; in a word, that he ought not to have aſked any queſtions that had been anſwered before, ſuppoſing even that he was ignorant of the hoſtilities on both ſides.

But

But is this a time for jeſting, and will the ſubject bear it? No ſurely; and there is no manner of doubt but thoſe who made the joke, were in the wrong, both in the example, and in the imitation. It is ſo precarious a thing to judge of the whole from a part, that the Engliſh ought not to have believed, that becauſe a few turbulent men had perſuaded ſome people to adopt a ſyſtem not at all ſuitable to their intereſt, therefore the whole French nation was in the ſame way of thinking. It is very certain, that although M. Hocquart behaved with ſome ſort of imprudence in regard to his own ſafety, yet he gave marks of ſincerity and valour, worthy of admiration.

The Engliſh alſo demonſtrated the opinion they entertained of our deſigns, by the rigorous treatment, which they are pretended to have ſhewn to M. Rigault, governor of the three rivers, who was taken on board the Alcide. M. Rigault complained of this behaviour to the French miniſters and to the court of admiralty: he

attributes

attributes it to the notion the Engliſh entertained, that his family had uſed their credit to inflame the ſavages, and to promote the ambitious enterprizes of France. He adds, that they charged him with all this in expreſs terms; which, I muſt own, ſeems to make greatly againſt us. How inclinable ſoever one nation may be to throw the blame upon another with whom they are at war, the leading men, and eſpecially thoſe in the military ſervice, are not ſo mean as to ſacrifice one of their equals, and particularly a perſon of high rank and birth, to a deſign of this nature. Therefore the more odious and unreaſonable this behaviour has appeared, the more it proves how firmly the enemy were convinced of our deſigns; and I wiſh, with all my heart, as I ſaid before, that we were guilty only in their eye. But while you amuſe yourſelves with examining who has been the aggreſſor, and while thoſe who are in the wrong, make a far louder outcry than the party injured, unfortunately we go on furniſhing you with matter of debate. I hear that

Beauſe-

Beauſejour is taken, and the following is a ſhort account I received of this matter from an officer belonging to that fort.

"The 15th of May 1755 arrived at "*Bay Verte*, a ſmall veſſel from Louiſburg "with diſpatches from Meſſieurs de Dru- "court and Prevoſt to M. de Vergor, com- "mander of that fort. They ſent him "word, that the Diana, one of the king's "frigates, was arrived fifteen days before, "having ſailed privately from Rochfort, "with ſtrict orders not to open her letters "till ſhe got two hundred leagues out to "ſea. To which they further added, that "there had been a fleet of thirty ſhips of the "line in Breſt harbour, and in a very few "days they ſhould hear of its deſtination; "however, that France was juſt upon the "point of executing the ſcheme which ſhe "ought to have done long ago (this ap- "pears to me to be the invaſion of Acadia) "that no more than two or three ſmall "veſſels from New England have appeared "at Louiſburg, where they made only a "ſtay of a few days. The 25th there came "an

" an expreſs from Louiſburg with letters to
" *De Vergor*, but nothing has tranſpired.
" They demand pickets and paliſades for
" Louiſburg, and orders are given to cut
" wood for that purpoſe at Gaſparaux.

" Monday the 2d of June I was inform-
" ed, that the commandant had told every
" body of the Engliſh fleet's being under
" ſail; that it conſiſted of thirty ſix veſſels
" of different ſizes; that one of the inha-
" bitants, who had ſeen it, ſaid it might
" enter as to day into the river of Meſa-
" goueche; and accordingly it arrived there
" at two in the afternoon. On Wedneſ-
" day they made themſelves maſters of the
" bridge of *Buot*, killed ſome of our men,
" and drove the reſt up to the bank of Mi-
" rande; which determined us to ſet fire to
" the habitations, farms, wood-houſes, and
" even to the church itſelf. In the mean
" time the outworks of the fort were finiſh-
" ed, and ſome new ones, bomb-proof,
" were erected on the baſtions. From
" time to time we ſent out detachments, that
" ſkirmiſhed with the enemy.

" The

" The 8th an Engliſh officer was taken
" by the ſavages, and reſcued out of their
" hands. Vergor uſed him extremely well.
" He aſked leave to write to his general, and
" to his wife, which was granted. His
" letters were ſent away, and the perſons
" that carried them told us, at their return,
" that they had ſeen only ſix ten-pounders,
" and eight mortars; to which the officer
" replied, that they had not ſeen all.

" Tueſday the 9th ſome ſavages from Ha-
" lifax informed us, that the Engliſh were
" afraid the French fleet would be before
" hand with theirs.

" Tueſday the twelfth of June we receiv-
" ed intelligence, that there were three of
" the king's frigates at Louiſburg, with
" troops on board, and deſtined for *Bay*
" *Verte*. Friday the 15th we were apprized,
" that the Engliſh were entrenching them-
" ſelves backwards, and upon the rock bor-
" dering on St. Omer's. The works are
" carried on with vigour. We are about
" ſix hundred men, reckoning the inhabi-
" tants. Some cannon have been fired,

" and

" and the Engliſh have begun to throw
" ſhells. The 16th one of two hundred
" weight fell upon the jail, where it kill-
" ed an Engliſh officer who was a priſoner,
" and ſeveral others. The ravage it has
" made, together with the bad condition of
" almoſt every part of the fort, and our
" being diſappointed in the ſuccours we ex-
" pected, have determined Vergor to capi-
" tulate. The confuſion was ſo much the
" greater, as, contrary to the opinion of every
" man of ſenſe, five hundred Acadians had
" been forced as it were to ſhut themſelves
" up in the fort, which was only a burden
" to us, and great prejudice to them. Theſe
" were ſome of the Acadians, who had
" taken the oath of allegiance to the king
" of Great-Britain; therefore it was ex-
" poſing them, without any good reaſon, to
" be butchered; ſince they muſt have ex-
" pected either to be cruſhed to death under
" the ruins of the fort, where it was im-
" poſſible for them to ſubſiſt; or to be
" hanged like dogs, if they fell into the
" hands of the Engliſh. For my part, I

" was

" was of opinion, that humanity obliged
" me to diſſuade them from a deſign, ſo
" greatly to their prejudice. Accordingly
" I prevailed with ſeveral; and after the
" reduction of the fort, I made an apolo-
" gy for the reſt, imputing it to the im-
" plicit ſubmiſſion which thoſe poor people
" paid to their miſſionaries. And in ſome
" meaſure I have ſucceeded, ſince the Eng-
" liſh did not treat them with the utmoſt
" ſeverity, as undoubtedly they had a right
" to do.

" The 16th of June, in the morning,
" the Sieur de Vannes, who is a relation
" of Vergor, and one of the oldeſt lieu-
" tenants, ſet out with propoſals for the
" Engliſh camp. M. Scherif returned with
" an anſwer: we deputed him once more to
" the enemy's camp, and the capitulation
" was concluded. Before the Engliſh entered
" the fort, we ſent away as many of the inha-
" bitants as we poſſibly could, and all heavy
" loaded, together with Vergor's domeſtics,
" who had ſeized upon the moſt valuable
" effects. The enemy took poſſeſſion of

" the fort in the evening, and though
" every thing was conducted with tolerable
" good order in the night-time, the bales
" of goods belonging to merchants were
" opened and plundered by both parties;
" but a greater number by us than by the
" enemy. The Engliſh tranſported the
" French troops, and took care of the
" wounded.

" The 18th the enemy ſent five hundred
" men to take poſſeſſion of Fort Gaſperau,
" which had been ſurrendered by M. de Vil-
" leray, the commanding officer, upon the
" receipt of a letter, acquainting him with
" the capitulation, and at the ſame time,
" with the impoſſibility of reſiſting the
" enemy. Joſeph Broſſard, known by the
" name of *Beauſoleil*, and by the miſchief
" he has done to the Engliſh, is come with
" a paſſport to propoſe a peace with the ſa-
" vages. He has only demanded a general
" amneſty, and his own pardon in parti-
" cular, which Mr. Monckton has granted.
" The inhabitants all around have been
" perſuaded to bring in their arms to the

" Engliſh. One of them ſays he came " from Louiſburg, where he left five ſhips " of the line and five thouſand men; and " further adds, that they were preparing " to ſuccour *Beauſejour*."

You may very well judge that I have abridged this journal, for upon theſe occaſions the details are generally the ſame. Beſides, I think it ſufficient to acquaint you with the principal facts, which if you had even been informed of already, I ſhould nevertheleſs have laid before you again; becauſe they furniſh me with reflexions, ſuitable to the view I propoſed to myſelf in theſe letters; which was to make you ſenſible of the truth by arguments derived from thoſe very facts, and not to impoſe upon your underſtanding by vague and indecent clamours. Be ſo good therefore as to take notice of the date of the information given to Vergor, concerning the thirty ſhips of the line, which were ready to put to ſea from Breſt, in order, as they ſaid, to invade Acadia. This was the 27th of May 1755. The Alcide and the Lys were taken the 8th

of June the ſame year. Obſerve alſo, that the Alcide and the Lys, which belonged to the ſquadron of eleven ſhips of war under the command of M. du Bois de la Mothe, made part of thoſe thirty two ſhips of the line that were deſtined againſt Acadia. From thence pleaſe to draw a very natural concluſion; ſince we have had a public account here the 27th of May, that the French fleet was ſent to invade Acadia, M. Hocquart, who was come directly from France, and belonged to that fleet, muſt undoubtedly have known it the 8th of June; therefore ſince he ſaw that notwithſtanding the pretenſions of the French to peace, they were going to wreſt a province from the Engliſh, might not he well foreſee, that the Engliſh would hold the ſame language, and yet commit hoſtilities againſt his ſhip? Will you ſay, that he remembered nothing about it; nor the number of ſhips which compoſed the French ſquadron? And indeed it is very extraordinary, that upon ſeeing and reckoning eleven Engliſh men of war, he ſhould have taken them

them for the eleven belonging to the French, when three were miſſing. Such abſurdities make our enemy believe we were playing tricks with them; and they have paid us in our own coin. Yet it would be an eaſy matter to finiſh this game, for the chance begins to go againſt us. Of what uſe is it to diſpute, whether we ought or ought not to be at war, if the ſword is actually drawn? When it is become neceſſary to fight, it is idle then to inquire who was originally in the wrong: according to the ancient uſe of combat, it muſt be decided by the ſucceſs; and the care of examining into the foundation of the quarrel, and of ſtating the proceedings, muſt be left to ſuch idle people as us. I therefore expect they will adopt this meaſure in France, the only one remaining. In ſhort, whether we come to a formal declaration of war, or confine ourſelves to that which, in M. Hocquart's phraſe, was made by the Engliſh ſmall arms; or as the Engliſh pretend, by our unjuſt encroachments; I am in hopes we ſhall ſtrike a terror into the enemy, by ſending a fleet

to America before theirs; by putting Louiſburg into a ſtate of ſecurity and defence; and above all, by cutting out work for the Engliſh at home; or at leaſt by making a vigorous ſtand againſt the numerous forces, with which they intend to cruſh us to pieces. It is no longer time to obſerve, or pretend to obſerve the laws of peace in Europe, when France is upon the point of being ſtripped of all her poſſeſſions in America. We have rouſed the enemy, and are aſleep ourſelves. I wait impatiently for a letter from you, and hope it will bring me an account, that our court has changed both their tone and their conduct. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXI.

Anſwer to a letter from Europe, wherein the author is apprized of the declaration of war between the two crowns; clamour of the French againſt the Engliſh; the taking of Minorca, and the treaty betwixt France, and the queen of Hungary.

SIR,

I HAVE received the favour of yours, after waiting for it almoſt a whole year. We had already been informed of part of the contents, and I own it was ſuch news as gave me alternately pleaſure and pain. The taking of Minorca, as you may very well imagine, affords me great ſatisfaction, as well as the declaration of war, which ſets all things to right. In regard to the alliance which France has concluded with the queen of Hungary, I am affected in another manner. Neither do you ſeem altogether to approve of it. What! did we imagine we had to deal with too weak a foe, and therefore reſolved to bring more powers

upon our backs? Inſtead of turning our whole force againſt an enraged enemy, who accuſes us of treachery and breach of treaties, how could we engage in a meaſure ſo prejudicial to our real intereſts? The taking of Minorca had almoſt intirely juſtified us, even in the opinion of the Engliſh. They were angry with themſelves for having been too much alarmed at our projects. But weakening ourſelves, as we are likely to do, by this fatal diverſion, we ſhall encourage our enemy to revive their accuſations againſt us; for the vanquiſhed is always in the wrong. Perhaps you will ſay, the enemy are ſtill very far from victory. We are going to march fourſcore thouſand men into Germany; and the king of Pruſſia will ſoon be demoliſhed. In the firſt place, I do not grant this point; the king of Pruſſia is able to withſtand much ſuperior forces. On the other hand you muſt allow, that the land armies which the queen of Hungary, the Ruſſians, and we are to ſend into the field, will of courſe diminiſh our fleet, by which alone we can hold the balance.

Our

Our victory over General Braddock, which has been ſounded ſo high in Europe, is far from determining our fate. The maritime power of the Engliſh is a hydra, in oppoſition to which we ought to ſet up another of the ſame nature. France ſhould have employed her people and her treaſure in building and fitting out a conſiderable fleet, equal to cope with the enemy, and not in ſending her men to be knocked on the head in Germany. But ſince the Engliſh entered into a continental alliance, what ought we to have done? We ſhould not have followed their example, if we had a mind to be revenged for their treaty with the king of Pruſſia; which in the main, if we purſued our real intereſt, was of very little ſignification to us: at leaſt we ought to have confined ourſelves to the articles of the treaty of Verſailles. Fourſcore thouſand men would not have exhauſted our ſtrength; we might ſtill have maintained the war in America, where every ſucceſs we met with, would be a ſtep the nearer towards enabling us to preſcribe the law in Europe. Then

we

we might with a good grace have determined not only our own right and pretenſions, but thoſe of other nations; whereas this diverſion will perhaps ſubject us to the diſagreeable ſituation of receiving the law from our enemy. And indeed if the Engliſh had not appeared to be thunderſtruck by this alliance, which ought rather to have given them joy, I ſhould imagine that their treaty with the king of Pruſſia had been only a ſnare to entrap us. Thoſe who have declaimed moſt loudly againſt the Britiſh miniſtry on the account of this alliance; and who have looked upon it as oneroſe to the nation, muſt change their opinion, now that we have proved the advantage of it. But why ſhould I trouble you with my thoughts upon this ſubject, ſince they can afford nothing new to a perſon of your judgment and reflexion? Would it not be far preferable to furniſh you with freſh matter? I thank heaven, it is now in my power to tranſmit ſome accounts to you, which may be ſaid to be rather agreeable than otherwiſe, if we confine

our

our reflexion to the preſent time. We have had ſufficient ſucceſs on the lake of the Holy Sacrament. The reduction of fort St. George, and ſome other advantages, have turned ſeveral of our heads. The viſit paid us by Admiral Holburne has finiſhed the buſineſs, at leaſt in the eye of thoſe who judge only from the preſent minute. In order to make you ſenſible of the diſpoſition of this ſort of people, I ſhall ſubjoin the copy of a letter written by one of our officers. You will find it of a conſolatory nature, and altogether different from my uſual ſtrain of lamentations. But I will not keep you any longer in ſuſpence.

" Our ſquadron conſiſting of nineteen " ſhips of the line and five frigates, under " the command of M. du Bois de la " Mothe, has been theſe four months be- " fore Louiſburg. The eye of all Europe " is fixed upon us. The formidable ar- " mament, which the Engliſh had fitted " out, at an immenſe expence, and with " which they were to ſtrike ſuch a ter- " rible blow, has proved the mountain in " labour. They had aſſembled an army

" of

" of two and twenty thouſand men at Ha-
" lifax, ſixteen of whom were tranſported
" from Europe. They had likewiſe a nume-
" rous train of artillery and implements of
" war, two and twenty ſhips of the line, and
" upwards of two hundred tranſports. So
" formidable were their preparations! Their
" view was firſt of all to diſpoſſeſs us of Cape
" Breton and Canada, and then to drive us
" out of America. But we have defeated all
" thoſe magnificent projects, only with ſix-
" teen ſhips of war, ſtationed in Louiſburg
" road. Our ſucceſs in Canada has been
" equally rapid. The fort of St. George is
" taken; and our Canadians are now upon
" the frontiers of the beſt provinces of the
" enemy. Yet Admiral Holburne, who had
" the command of that terrible Engliſh
" ſquadron, appeared off Louiſburg with
" his two and twenty ſail of men of war,
" while our fleet was detained in the
" harbour by a very thick fog. M. du
" Bois had made ready to put to ſea,
" as ſoon as the enemy appeared. Our
" people had all but one heart and one voice

" to

" to engage the enemy; but this famous " and long expected Mr. Holburne, took it " into his head that our number was nearly " equal to his; and therefore he made the " beſt of his way back to Halifax. But his " countrymen will aſk him, how came you " to run away? I had not, he will anſwer, " a ſuperior force to that of the enemy " *(venit, vidit, fugit)*. The example of the " unfortunate Admiral Bing has not yet " worked miracles in point of bravery.

" Ever ſince our arrival we have lain " ſtock ſtill, in purſuance of expreſs orders " from court. Our maſter will run no " riſk this year; perhaps he intends to do " ſomething brilliant the next campaign. It " is vexatious, that the fineſt ſquadron " which France has equipped ſince the year " 1703, ſhould be ſhackled with orders only " to keep a look out. If ever there was a " certainty of firing gun-powder to the ho- " nour of the French flag, it was the 19th " of Auguſt, the day on which Admiral " Holburne appeared before our harbour. " He returned afterwards with two and

" twenty

" twenty ſhips and ſeven frigates, and be-
" gan to bluſter greatly; but a terrible
" ſtorm pulled down his courage. On the
" 25th of September it blew a moſt furious
" ſouth-eaſt wind upon the coaſt, which,
" if it had laſted but two hours longer,
" would have deſtroyed his whole ſquadron.
" The Devonſhire of ſeventy guns, and the
" Saliſbury of ſixty, were caſt away; and
" we ſaved two hundred men out of the
" latter. There is reaſon to believe, that
" five or ſix more of their ſquadron have
" met with the ſame fate as the Devonſhire,
" out of which we have not been able to
" ſave a ſingle ſoul. This however is cer-
" tain, that the coaſt was ſtrewed with
" wrecks and dead bodies. The reſt of
" their ſhips that eſcaped the danger, have
" loſt moſt of their maſts and rigging.
" Here then did the hand of God diſplay
" itſelf moſt viſibly in our favour. The
" priſoners, whom our ſavages took at the
" gates of Halifax, inform us, that out of
" eight or nine and twenty ſhips or frigates,
" of which the Engliſh fleet conſiſted, no

" more

" more than fourteen got ſafe back; but " the admiral gave out, that the reſt had " ſailed to Europe. It is to be preſumed, " that he has made uſe of this language, " to prevent the common people from being " diſcouraged under the preſent critical " circumſtances. The ſavages alone are " able to frighten them. And indeed it " is incredible, with what fury and bar- " barity, theſe people behave towards the " enemy. We ſee them every day return- " ing with the miſerable remains of fami- " lies, the greateſt part of whom they " have maſſacred and frequently devoured. " I muſt confeſs that ſuch ſights are ſhock- " ing to humanity. I ſhudder to this very " moment, when I think of the ſpeech, " which one of their chiefs made one day " that I was preſent, when he laid a heap " of Engliſh hair at the feet of M. du " Bois de la Mothe: act ſo, ſaid he, that " my brethren may be able quickly to have " a flouriſhing trade in this kind of furs. " A very ſavage requeſt, anſwered M. de la " Mothe. However, the hand of the Al-

" mighty

" mighty has viſibly protected us in the " ſtorm of the 25th of September. The " beſt part of our ſquadron was in the " greateſt danger. The Tonnant, the " Formidable, the Duke of Burgundy, " and almoſt all the reſt of our ſhips, were " driven from their anchors, and very " near being daſhed againſt the rocks, " when the wind ſuddenly chopped about, " and preſerved us from deſtruction. The " Tonnant had already loſt part of her " keel by running aſhore; and we were " juſt going to cut away her maſts, when " the wind veered about and ſet her afloat. " This accident has detained us in this " place, where our operations have been " confined to the taking of a frigate of " ſixteen guns. We ſhall ſet ſail from " hence to-morrow, All Saints day; God " grant us better luck, and enable us to " bring ſome of the enemy's ſhips into our " harbours."

I am much miſtaken, if you do not tell me that I muſt be ſtark mad to ſend you ſuch a letter; but very likely you will

ſay

ſay ſomething more ſevere, when you ſee me make a ſerious comment upon it. Yet I muſt do it; for this preſumptuous, fooliſh talk, which I know is apt to give you great offence, is the language of the multitude, whom you are very ſenſible we are ſometimes obliged to anſwer. Firſt of all, that bravado in regard to the deſigns of the Engliſh, and the conduct of admiral Holburne, is exactly a copy of the behaviour which the writer of the letter intends to expoſe. I know that the French deſired nothing better than to fight; and that they longed to ſee admiral Holburne; but does it follow from thence, that they have a right to reproach the enemy with want of courage. If upon a ſingle occaſion we might imagine they deſerved this cenſure, ſure I am, that there have been more than a thouſand inſtances, in which there was not the leaſt foundation for this charge. And as for the projects of the Engliſh, what is there in them ſo ridiculous? Did we ever fancy ourſelves able to make an attempt upon one of their ports, but immediately we concluded we ſhould become maſters of

the whole kingdom of Great-Britain? Beſides, every body knows that thoſe caſtles in the air are built for the populace, and not for men of ſenſe. Muſt not we tell this giddy multitude (unleſs we chuſe to diſhearten them) that we are going to ſeize on the enemy's country, and to ſpread terror and deſolation around us? They who talk in this ſtrain, are capable nevertheleſs of judging between poſſibilities and impoſſibilities. Admiral Holburne has retired, becauſe he ſaw we had an equality. What equality could there be between a ſquadron ſheltered under the cannon of a fortified town, and a fleet, againſt which that very ſame cannon was pointed? Was the admiral ſo much to blame, for endeavouring to get a reinforcement in order to balance this ſuperiority? But even if he was really in fault, how can we tell but the chance might have been againſt us? So that perhaps we have more reaſon to thank Providence, than to crack our illiberal jokes upon this commander.

I have nothing to ſay to the hurricane,

and

and the hand of God visibly exerted in our favour. I accept the omen, and wish that he may always protect us in so distinguishing a manner. I am only surprized that those who complain so severely of the inaction, can be overjoyed at an event, which deprived them of the opportunity of signalizing their valour. This I mention, to shew the absurdity of the letter I have been criticizing; for I am very sure, that the French are endued with too much valour and humanity, to desire the assistance of so terrible a tempest. This is manifest from the aversion we have to the barbarities of the savages. Nay it is certain, that we should not be content with reproving them for this practice, could we do without them, or were they intirely subject to our command.

I shall confine myself therefore to the resolution, which the ministry is said to have taken, not to hazard any thing this year. I wish they may not change their minds the next, and run the risk of losing Louisburg; and that the first squadron which

appears off our coaſt, may not be thoſe very Engliſh ſhips (reinforced by double the number), which we pretend to have been deſtroyed. You will tell me that I am a ſecond Caſſandra: I perceive it too well, and am afraid that my predictions will be fulfilled, becauſe our danger is preſſing, and the neceſſary ſuccours are at a greater diſtance than ever. Beſides, I am very much miſtaken, if while your attention in France is taken up with the extraordinary ſucceſſes of the king of Pruſſia, you will trouble your heads about us; and then will my alarms and apprehenſions be ill-grounded? Again, if our fortifications were finiſhed, we might make a ſtand. I could add, if we had the able officer who commanded here not long ago: but as he has ſuffered Cherburg to be taken, according to the preſent reports; you might look upon this wiſh as a jeſt; and I aſſure you I am far from being in a jeſting humour.

I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER XXII.

Landing of the Engliſh at Louiſburg, their forces, and opening of the ſiege. Situation and diſpoſition of the Engliſh; attack and defence; particulars from admiral Boſcawen's journals, and other writings equally authentic.

SIR,

I OWN myſelf not much affected with the loſs of the battle of Roſbach, and the violation of the convention of Cloſter Seven. Theſe two unhappy events would have fixed my attention at any other time; but it is natural to be more ſenſible of what immediately ſtrikes us; for a misfortune of this kind abſorbs every other conſideration. From ſuch a preamble you may judge, that we are actually beſieged. Yes, Sir, nothing could be more unfortunate; and yet ſo it is: inſtead of that powerful ſquadron which puffed us up with pride laſt year, our whole defence againſt the enemy conſiſts of five ſhips of war, a garriſon of two thou-

ſand five hundred men, three hundred militia, and a fortification almoſt ruinous. Such was the ſituation in which the Engliſh found us. You will ſay, perhaps, that there could not be much glory, where there was ſo weak a defence. You are miſtaken, for to our misfortune, though our weakneſs expoſed us to the mercy of the enemy, it no ways diminiſhed the luſtre of their conqueſt. And, indeed, from the following exact and impartial narrative of the whole affair, you will eaſily ſee, that they have been poſſeſſed of uncommon bravery to ſurmount the firſt obſtacles, for which we were indebted to nature; and which leſs impatience on our ſide might have rendered inſuperable. And to our coſt, we have experienced the truth of this maxim; that it is impoſſible to be too vigorous upon an attack, or too cautious upon a defence. But to the point.

" The 28th of May 1728, a fleet of twenty three ſhips of the line, and eighteen frigates, with ſixteen thouſand land forces on board, ſet out from Halifax under the com-

command of admiral Boſcawen, and came to an anchor the 2d of June in Gabarus Bay. This armament concluded with a proportionable train of artillery, and a vaſt number of tranſports; and what rendered it more formidable, was the ardour with which the breaſts of the Engliſh glowed, to wipe off the diſgrace of the taking of Minorca."

"As ſoon as the fleet came to an anchor, general Amherſt, and the brigadier generals Lawrence and Wolfe, went to reconnoitre the ſeveral parts of the north ſide of the bay proper for landing, and pointed out three. Yet admiral Boſcawen had two days before made an experiment, to ſee what number of men could be landed at the ſame time, and what conveniency there was for forming the troops as ſoon as they got aſhore. He had likewiſe ordered the Royal William to cruiſe before Louiſburg. Theſe generals perceived that we had a chain of boats along the ſhore from Cape Noire to Cape Blanc, protected by irregulars, and by batteries wherever a deſcent

was practicable. As it was very difficult for us, with ſo inconſiderable a force, to guard ſo extenſive a coaſt, we poſted a greater number of men in ſuch places as were of eaſier acceſs. The creek of Cormoran was judged to be of that nature, and therefore we made ſeveral encampments along the ſhore. The firſt frigate that advanced and fired upon us, was the Kingſton: we returned the compliment from a battery of two pieces of cannon, and from our ſmall arms. The ſurf having prevented the enemy three days from landing, it was at length reſolved the 8th of June, when the ſea was not ſo rough, to attempt a deſcent upon that very ſpot, after making a feint to land at Laurenbec. At midnight admiral Boſcawen ſent all the boats with the neceſſary complement of officers to land the troops. The order of landing was in three diviſions; and at the ſame time, the Sutherland, Kingſton, and Halifax, &c. were directed to ſupport the diſembarking with a briſk fire. The Sutherland and Squirrel were to the right, juſt by Cape

Blanc; the Kingſton and Halifax to the left, near Creek Cormoran; the Grammont, with the frigates Diana and Shannon, was in the center. In the mean time, general Wolfe had received orders to ſend the light troops, and try whether they could not land upon ſome rocky parts that had always been judged inacceſſible, and of courſe had been left unguarded. Accordingly he ſent a hundred men, who were immediately killed or diſperſed by the ſavages, and by ſome of our people, who flew to that part upon hearing the report of fire arms. About four o'clock in the morning, the enemy tried to land to the left of the creek of Cormoran, with ſix hundred light troops, a whole battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of grenadiers, under the command of general Wolfe. In the mean while, general Whitmore pretended to land to the right of Cape Blanc; and general Lawrence, who commanded the center, made a like feint at the ſoft water creek. Their intent was to divide our attention; and this was a very proper ſtep for that purpoſe,

purpoſe, conſidering the ſmallneſs of our numbers: but we ſoon found out the main deſign of the enemy, when we ſaw that general Wolfe began to land his men at the creek of Cormoran. Yet nothing ought to have inſpired us with a greater confidence than ſuch an attempt: for this being, as I before obſerved, the weakeſt part, we had thrown up ſuch entrenchments, that it was impoſſible for an enemy to land there with any ſucceſs. We had two thouſand regular troops drawn on the ſhore, and ſeveral ſavages poſted in different parts. We were behind a good parapet, defended by ſeveral pieces of cannon within proper diſtances, and by ſtone mortars of a conſiderable bore; the whole covered by felled trees, which were laid ſo cloſe, that it would have been very difficult to pierce through them, even if they had not been defended by our troops under ſhelter. And as our batteries were maſked by this paliſade, ſo that at a diſtance the whole muſt have appeared to the enemy like a ſmooth field; we might have rendered this circumſtance of the greateſt

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ſervice to us. We had even abſolutely depended upon it, which was the reaſon of our not being ſo much alarmed at the weak condition of the town. For what did it ſignify to us, whether it was fortified or not, if we could hinder the enemy from landing? In ſo advantageous a poſition, on which our whole ſafety depended, we might have acted a much better part than that of keeping merely upon the defenſive; and this would have been the caſe were it not for an imprudent ſtep, for which we cannot condemn ourſelves too much. As the enemy would naturally march up to us, in expectation of finding only a few paltry entrenchments, which they could eaſily force, it was our buſineſs to let them continue in this error, till they had all landed. Then we ſhould have ſaluted them with our batteries and ſmall arms; and in all probability, every man of them would have been either killed, or drowned in reimbarking in a hurry: and ſo great a loſs would perhaps have diſheartened the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they would never make

make another attempt. But wherever ſucceſs depends on command of temper, the French ſtand but an indifferent chance; as it appeared unfortunately on this occaſion. Scarce had the enemy made a movement to draw near the ſhore, when we ſhewed ourſelves in a hurry to diſcover the ſnare, into which they muſt have inevitably fallen. By our firing upon their boats, they perceived our diſpoſition; nay, we were ſo precipitate as to unmaſk it ourſelves, by removing the boughs out of their places, whereby we unluckily convinced them of their great danger. Immediately they put back, and the loſs they ſuſtained on this occaſion, inſtead of diſheartening them, only ſerved to redouble their ardour. They now thought no place ſo proper for landing as that which we judged inacceſſible. Major Scot, upon this occaſion, performed a moſt gallant action. General Wolfe, who at that time was buſy in reimbarking the troops, and putting off the boats, ordered him to climb up the rocks, where they had already ſent a hundred men. The major went thither with

with the troops under his command; but his own boat arriving before the reſt, and being ſtaved to pieces the inſtant he landed, he climbed up the rock by himſelf. He was in hopes that the hundred men who had been ſent before him, were engaged by this time with our people; but ſeeing no more than ten, he reſolved with this ſmall number to get a-top of the rocks. There he found ten ſavages, and threeſcore French, who killed two of his men, and wounded three. Still this brave Engliſhman would not, even in this extremity, abandon a poſt, on which the ſucceſs of the whole enterprize depended. He deſired the five ſoldiers remaining not to be diſmayed; and even went ſo far, as to threaten he would fire upon the firſt man that would flinch. In the mean time, he had three balls lodged in his clothes, and would have had all the ſeventy Frenchmen upon him at once, were it not for a copſe that was between them, and through which he fired a few ſhot. At length this hero (for I cannot help doing juſtice to his valour) was ſeconded by the reſt of the Engliſh

liſh troops, who perceiving there was no other way to ſucceed, determined to run all riſks in order to carry this point."

"It is the intereſt of the conquered not to diminiſh the glory of the victor; and beſides, it is our duty to do juſtice, even to our mortal enemy: for which reaſon I confeſs, that the Engliſh on this occaſion behaved with ſuch valour, as before the event muſt have appeared temerity. Yet it muſt be allowed, that at the ſame time the difficulty of the enterprize does them infinite honour, it ſaves ours. Who could have foreſeen that they would venture to climb up rocks, till then reckoned inacceſſible; that notwithſtanding their boats were every inſtant daſhed in pieces, and notwithſtanding the ſurf which drove them back, and drowned great numbers, ſtill they perſiſted, with their clothes all wet, and their ſpirits almoſt exhauſted, to mount the rock, in defiance of our batteries, from whence we plyed them moſt vigorouſly, as ſoon as we perceived their deſign?"

"The ſurprize we were thrown into by the

the boldneſs of this attempt, contributed greatly to its ſucceſs; ſo that when the enemy attacked the battery which took them in flank, they carried it with eaſe. Beſides, it is very certain that notwithſtanding we might have hindered their deſcent with a little more prudence and circumſpection; yet neither one nor the other, nor even the moſt heroic bravery would have availed us, when once they had effected their deſcent. The beſt thing therefore we could do, was to retire, which we did the more precipitately, as we were informed that general Whitmore, in the confuſion we were under, had landed to the right of Cape Blanc. We had great reaſon to be afraid that he would cut us off from Louiſburg, where we had left only three hundred men; for in that caſe all would have been over with us. Though our loſs, on that fatal day, amounted to about two hundred men killed and taken priſoners; and though our town was in ſo bad a ſtate of defence, ſtill we did not deſpond. We had reaſon to expect we ſhould not be deſerted; and that M. de Montcalm,

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as we had been promiſed, would come with a ſquadron to our aſſiſtance."

"Beſides ſo well-grounded an expectation, the council of war conſidered, that by retarding, as much as poſſible, the reduction of the place, (upon a ſuppoſition that no ſuccours at all arrived) we ſhould retard alſo the expedition of the enemy againſt Canada, and even render their deſign abortive, at leaſt for this year. For this reaſon we detained five French men of war in the road, though the commodore had aſked leave to retire; and we prepared to render our defence at leaſt of ſome ſervice to our country, if it could be none to ourſelves. Beſides this reſolution, we prayed heartily that the enemy would ſhew leſs conduct and bravery in their other enterprizes; ſo greatly was our tone altered ſince the misfortune and retreat of admiral Holburne."

"In the mean while, we had left the enemy in poſſeſſion of ſome proviſions, and arms, and fourteen pieces of cannon, with twelve ſtone mortars, and two fourneaus for red-hot balls, one of which was ready charged.

charged. As our flight could not be effected the directeſt way, and a great many of us were obliged to make our eſcape over rocks and moraſſes, we did not get under the cannon of Louiſburg till ten o'clock in the morning. And then we ended this affair, in the ſame unlucky manner as we began it, with an act of imprudence. By a diſcharge from our ramparts, the enemy were apprized of the reach of our batteries, when we might very eaſily have foreſeen, that they were at too great a diſtance to receive any detriment. Thus we regulated the ſituation of their camp, which accordingly they kept during the whole ſiege."

Sir Charles Hardy, who was cruizing at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent our receiving any ſuccours, could not hinder a French man of war from paſſing through his ſquadron by the help of a thick fog. In vain did admiral Boſcawen order this veſſel to be chaced; it got ſafe into Louiſburg road; ſo that we had now ſix ſhips of the line, and as many frigates. After the junction of Sir Charles Hardy's ſqua-

dron to that of admiral Boſcawen, occaſioned by a ſickneſs on board the fleet, the Echo, one of our frigates, ventured to put to ſea. She was to ſail to Canada, and to run all hazards, in order to apply for ſpeedy aſſiſtance: but ſhe was ſtopped ſhort in her voyage. Admiral Boſcawen ordered the Scarborough and the Juno to give chace to her, and ſhe was taken. In the mean time, ſome of the enemy's ſhips had advanced as far as Lorembec, with faſcines, ammunition, and artillery. The ninth day after the enemy's landing, they pitched their camp within about three hundred fathoms of Louiſburg. They had likewiſe poſted ſome troops in the creek of Cormoran, and other adjacent parts, in order to prevent the incurſions of the ſavages. There was alſo another detachment to ſecure the communication between the camp and the ſea-ſide. The eleven hundred men, under the command of major Scot, with three hundred irregulars, were continually beating the rounds in order to prevent any ſurprize from the ſavages or Canadians, whom we expected to come to our aſſiſtance. All

All theſe precautions, however, did not hinder four hundred of the regiment of Cambiſe, from throwing themſelves into the town, after landing at Port Dauphin, nor the men of war that brought them, from getting ſafe back. In the mean time, Sir Charles Hardy returned to his former ſtation, with a view to block up the harbour, leſt our ſhips of war ſhould take the opportunity of a fog to make their eſcape.

The 11th, whilſt the enemy were employed in cutting through rocks and in draining moraſſes in order to open the neceſſary paſſages through the camp; and while our men were endeavouring to repair the fortifications; a ſerjeant major, and four ſoldiers of Fiſcher's regiment of foreign volunteers, deſerted to the Engliſh. No doubt but they encouraged the enemy's workmen by letting them know our ſituation, our incapacity of bettering it, and the great deſpondency of the garriſon, who were ready to deſert. They likewiſe told them, that we had deſtroyed the great battery, together with that of the light-houſe, and every

thing that we could poſſibly deſtroy around the town.

Upon this intelligence, major Scot was commanded the next day to put himſelf at the head of five hundred men, and to make himſelf maſter of the light-houſe battery. He was followed by brigadier general Wolfe, who had under him four companies of grenadiers, and twelve hundred men detached from the lines. They found that the deſerters had informed them right, and that we had left only four cannon, and thoſe nailed up. The ſituation of this poſt being extremely advantageous to the enemy, as they might eaſily annoy our ſhips from thence, and throw bombs upon the iſland battery, they ſent away immediately for a ſufficient quantity of artillery and machines. But the impoſſibility of maintaining this poſt obliged us to abandon it; for it was more than we could do to guard the batteries and ramparts of the town. Not far from hence there was a little creek, very convenient for landing of proviſions and artillery, or any other neceſſaries; and to

complete

complete their good fortune, on that very ſame ſpot they found, in two ſmall camps which we had abandoned, all ſorts of proviſions, and among the reſt, ſome Lorembec fiſh and very good wine. True it is, that we had not any reaſon to be ſorry for this laſt capture. For we had no ſcarcity at all; nay we could have wiſhed that we had mouths enough to conſume our proviſions. This plenty was the cauſe of great waſte; and the ſoldiers were ſo uſed to profuſion, that they would neither work nor go upon a ſally, unleſs they were half drunk. A perſon muſt have been witneſs to the indulgences, which a commander is obliged to ſhew to diſheartened troops, when there is no longer a poſſibility of concealing from them, either their own weakneſs, or the ſuperiority of the enemy; before he can be a judge of the ſituation we were now reduced to. Honour and glory are the incentives of gentlemen; but as for the common people, when the bounds of fear are once broke through, we muſt ſubſtitute thoſe of intereſt and

condeſcenſion, though even theſe do frequently prove inſufficient and dangerous to officers who are obliged to have recourſe to ſuch an extremity.

As there was a poſſibility of landing in thoſe places where the Engliſh took poſt, we had erected parapets and paliſades in the ſame manner as at the creek of Cormoran, but had not time to deſtroy thoſe defences. The Engliſh however knew how to apply them to a proper uſe. Early the next morning, in order to divert the enemy from their works, we ſent out a party, who made a feint as if they intended to advance towards general Wolfe: but this officer having received the alarm by a meſſenger from major Roſs, who commanded a detached guard betwixt the camp and town, our men immediately retired, after making a ſhew as if they had no other intention than to burn a few paltry houſes. We could not ſpare to loſe many of our men, and yet we ſhould have been glad to retard the enemy's works. At length we reſolved to truſt ſomething to fortune, when we ſaw them all hard at work

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in their great camp, and that they had already raiſed three redoubts between the right and left of the eminence where they were poſted. For which reaſon three hundred of our men made a ſally in open day upon their advanced parties, but were repulſed with loſs.

Nothing now remained but to annoy the light-houſe camp as much as poſſible from the iſland battery, which we did with ſucceſs, till the Engliſh judged proper to remove their line to a poſition out of our reach. True it is, that they acted on this occaſion like men of ſpirit, for their grenadiers continued on this dangerous ſpot till the next day.

This ſame 14th we feigned another attack on the right ſide of major Roſs; or rather we ſhould have really attempted it, if a body of troops, much ſuperior to ours, had not come up to his aſſiſtance. We towed afterwards a ſhallop to the mouth of the harbour; and mounted two twenty-four pounders upon it, with a view of annoying Mr. Wolfe's new camp, which was ſituated

near the ſhore. This ſhallop caſt anchor near the iſland battery, and after firing her guns for ſome time, returned to her former ſituation in the harbour. This operation ſhe renewed ſeveral times, which cauſed more uneaſineſs than real damage to the enemy. She likewiſe played upon the two men of war that had drawn near to obſerve us; but as they returned the fire, ſix of her men were killed: yet the enemy did not venture to purſue her, becauſe ſhe was covered with ten forty-two pounders on the iſland battery.

Notwithſtanding all we could do from the 14th to the 19th, we had the mortification to ſee the entrenchments round both the camps of the enemy completed; neither was it in our power to hinder the tranſporting of the ſeveral implements and utenſils deſtined for the ſiege. It was about this time that the frigate Echo, which I mentioned to you before, was taken; and that Sir Charles Hardy's ſquadron returned to the poſition, which it had quitted in order to join the admiral.

Yeſterday,

Yeſterday, the 19th, towards evening, the enemy in the light-houſe camp opened a battery of cannon and mortars, which played very briſkly upon the iſland battery, and upon the ſhips till morning. We anſwered them with the ſame vivacity, but not with the ſame advantage, becauſe the ſituation of the enemy upon an eminence hindred us from doing them any great harm; and beſides, they have a good ſhelter behind the precipices and high grounds. In ſhort, this very morning the light-houſe battery continued to thunder upon our ſhips with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to draw ſix hundred yards nearer the town, which indeed keeps them a little more out of cannon-ſhot, but at the ſame time leaves more room for the enemy to approach, and makes it leſs inconvenient to advance their works, which the fire from our ſhips had greatly obſtructed.

I am very ſenſible, that upon the receipt of this letter, which I am going to ſend you by the Arethuſa, a frigate juſt ready to ſail, you will be under the greateſt inquietude: yet

yet what would you ſay of me, were I to neglect this opportunity of acquainting you with our misfortune? doubtleſs you would receive the news from others, and would be diſobliged with me for leaving you in ſuch an uncertainty in regard to our fate. I promiſe to continue a faithful narrative of the ſiege: if the town is taken by ſtorm, this account perhaps will never reach you; but as a good citizen, more than as a ſoldier, I hope we ſhall capitulate, when we are no longer able to defend ourſelves. In all probability, I ſhall ſee you very ſoon after my next, if I do not bring it myſelf. In the mean time you will allow, that I was not ſo much miſtaken in predicting and lamenting what has happened; and I had reaſon to ſay, that your fatal war on the continent would prove the ruin of this valuable and flouriſhing colony. What an immenſe ſum it will coſt to reſtore it to its former condition, ſuppoſing that the Engliſh, who are but too well acquainted with the value of it, ſhould conſent to part with it again, or that we ſhould be able to com-

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pel them! What an infatuation, that we ſhould thus neglect a ſettlement, the preſervation of which was of the utmoſt importance to us; and to neglect it for paltry concerns, no way intereſting to us, and in which we are very likely to be duped! Adieu; I ſhould never have done, were I to give a full ſcope to my lamentations: I ſhall be imitated in Europe, when it is too late.

I am, &c.

LETTER XXIII.

The ſiege of Louiſburg continued. Reſiſtance of the garriſon, who are at length obliged to capitulate. Treatment of them and the inhabitants, &c.

SIR,

YOU will not receive my laſt letter ſo early as I imagined; neither ſhall I follow this ſo ſoon as I could have wiſhed. The Arethuſa tarried here fifteen days longer than I expected; but as ſhe only waited for a favourable opportunity, and was every minute ready to ſail, I have not been able to add to my former accounts, the operations

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that have been carried on during that time. Since this colony has fallen under the dominion of the Engliſh, my ailments, and the inquietudes inſeparable from our diſmal ſituation, have prevented my embarking for France. Very likely I ſhall ſtay here ſome time longer; thanks to the humanity of our conquerors. And in truth, nothing but their valour can equal their generoſity: but my narrative and encomiums ſhall keep pace together; therefore let us continue to recount the effects of that virtue, for which we have paid ſo dear; and we ſhall afterwards come to the other, of which every one of us ought to preſerve the moſt grateful remembrance. I left off, if I am not miſtaken, at the recital of a ſituation, which had revived my expreſſions of ſorrow; and you will now be able to judge whether they were juſt or not.

The 21ſt of June, our ſhips made a moſt terrible peal upon the light-houſe battery, which was ſaid to have been ſomewhat damaged. We fired againſt the enemy from all ſides, as far as our ſtrength, or the

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ſhowers of bombs would permit. All the next day there was a very thick fog, of which the enemy availed themſelves to erect an advanced redoubt, betwixt the center of the grand camp and that to the right. By this ſtep it became eaſier for them to get poſſeſſion of an eminence, which commanded the part of the camp towards the town, at the diſtance of about eight hundred yards from the glacis. They likewiſe erected a battery of ſix cannon at the light-houſe, in order to ſilence the iſland battery, by which they were greatly incommoded. They erected another againſt our ſhips; and laſt of all, they made an epaulement to facilitate their approaches to the town by the eminence. This work was about a quarter of a mile in length, ſixty feet wide, and nine deep; conſiſting of gabions, faſcines and earth. Four days were ſpent in theſe preparations, and the 25th we experienced their effect. One of the embraſures of the iſland battery was damaged, ſo that we could only make uſe of bombs. This defect was ſupplied, as much

much as poſſible, by our battery of Cape Maurepas, and by the cannon of our ſhips.

The 26th we reſolved to ſet fire to the enemy's new fort; but thoſe who attempted it, were repulſed without effecting their deſign.

The 27th, perceiving that the enemy was continually advancing, we redoubled our fire without being able to interrupt the workmen; on the contrary, we ourſelves were terribly incommoded by the enemy's bombs. Beſides, the admiral extending his vigilance to every part, cauſed four hundred ſoldiers to be landed in the creek of Cormoran, a precaution of great uſe to the beſiegers.

Two days after we ſunk two frigates and two ſhips in the narroweſt part of the mouth of the harbour; and faſtened them together, to the end that if the enemy's ſhips ſhould attempt to force their way through, there might not be room for above one at a time. During this operation, our frigate Arethuſa ventured out as far as ſhe could; and her guns extremely incommoded the

enemy's

enemy's workmen. The Engliſh returned the fire with the ſame vivacity; and being impatient to make their approaches, they uſed all their endeavours to drive our ſhips back. Matters were thus pretty uniform on both ſides during the ſpace of four days.

The 1ſt of July a detachment of our people ſallied out of the wood, and advanced about a mile beyond the pond. Upon which Mr. Wolfe went to meet them with five or ſix hundred regulars. There was a very briſk ſkirmiſh; but at length our men were obliged to retire. This they did in good order, firing all the time upon the enemy, who gained nevertheleſs two very advantageous eminences, on which they immediately threw up a redoubt. On our ſide we ſunk two frigates more, and left their maſts ſtanding above water. The following days the enemy formed their lines, and their light troops defended themſelves againſt the ſavages, who hovered about the camp in order to pick up any ſtragglers.

There is no manner of doubt, but notwithſtanding the advantages the Engliſh had

had over us, in the valour and ability of their general officers, they were ſenſible of the arduouſneſs of their enterprize. For our part, the length of our defence had ſurpaſſed our expectation; and we could not help ſighing, when we conſidered that it would have been impoſſible for the enemy to ſucceed, had we been but upon an equal footing.

Yet as we were determined not to ſurrender till the laſt extremity, we made a ſally the 8th upon a detachment of workmen, commanded by brigadier general Lawrence. We ſurprized them by the help of a very dark night; but what could nine hundred men do againſt the whole van-guard of the enemy, who immediately flew to the aſſiſtance of the ſappers? We had two captains and a few ſoldiers killed. The day following we ſent a flag of truce, to beg leave to bury the dead.

The 10th, the admiral ſet two hundred miners to work. In the mean while, we fired chain-ſhot at them, and made as much noiſe as poſſible. The Arethuſa employed

ployed the time ſhe was hindred from ſailing, in ſuch a manner, as made us amends for this involuntary delay. The night of the 11th, we perceived a great fire in the woods, and as it was a ſignal of the approach of M. des Herbiers with a reinforcement of Canadians and ſavages, we began to pluck up our ſpirits. Beſides, we knew that as M. de Herbiers piqued himſelf more for his bravery than for his humanity, there was no doubt of his haraſſing the enemy as much as poſſible with the troops, which he would keep hovering about their camp, after he had reinforced the garriſon. This ſame officer had the good fortune to ſnap up an Engliſh ſoldier that was driving a cart, and being apprized by this fellow of the ſituation of the enemy's camp, he immediately let us know it, to the end that we might point our batteries accordingly.

The 15th a thick fog ariſing, the Arethuſa embraced the opportunity to ſlip away in the night, and though the enemy uſed all poſſible expedition in giving chace to this ſhip, ſhe got clear off. Yet I am of opinion,

that her departure gave more pleaſure to the Engliſh than to us.

The 16th Mr. Wolfe made himſelf maſter of the poſt occupied by our piquets, ſituated within four hundred yards of the weſt gate; and there he maintained himſelf in ſpite of all our fire from our cannon and bombs. A deſerter from the camp having informed us where the enemy's magazines lay, we directed our ſhells in ſuch a manner, as to alarm them greatly. The enſuing days their approaches towards the town were carried on with ſucceſs, as were alſo the new batteries, one of which began to play very briſkly on the Dauphin baſtion, and the weſt gate.

The 21ſt proved fatal to us: our ſhip the Entreprenant of ſixty-four guns, having been ſet on fire by a cannon-ſhot from the enemy, blew up in the middle of the harbour; and in its fall the fire ſpread itſelf to two more ſhips, the Celebre and the Capricieux, which were both burnt. The other veſſels eſcaped with very great difficulty and riſk, being obliged to paſs between the enemy's

battery,

battery, and the cannon of the ſhips on fire, which played upon us as well as upon them. Several of our ſmall craft were burnt; in ſhort it was a night of horror and deſolation. The Prudent and the Bienfaiſant of ſixty-four guns, which had eſcaped this time, ſoon after fell a prey to the enemy.

Admiral Boſcawen had given orders for each ſhip under his command to get ready two boats, two pinnaces, and a barge, armed with muſquets, bayonets, cutlaſſes, hatchets, and piſtols. Theſe, under the command of the captains La Forey and Balfour, entered the harbour in great ſilence, on a very dark night. As our batteries and ramparts had been very much damaged theſe three days; and as the fire of the enemy's ſmall arms made it almoſt impracticable for us to maintain ourſelves on thoſe ſame ramparts, which we were endeavouring to repair; and laſtly, as a breach had been already made in the Dauphin baſtion and the weſt gate; we did not want for work. Beſides, we had ſeen the beſiegers bring ladders to the

trenches; and as we apprehended a ſcalade every moment; we kept firing continually from our ſmall arms on the ramparts, while the enemy plied us in the ſame manner without intermiſſion. It is not therefore at all ſurprizing, that in ſuch confuſion and alarm, we did not perceive the boats, which, as I mentioned to you before, ſlipped into the harbour. Their aim was againſt the two only ſhips we had left, and they ſucceeded. Captain La Forey attacked the Prudent, and captain Balfour the Bienfaiſant. The report of the guns made us ſenſible of our freſh misfortune; but it was too late. In vain did we direct every battery that was ſtill in a condition to play, againſt the enemy's boats: we could not hinder the Bienfaiſant from being towed cloſe by our walls into the north-eaſt harbour, under the protection of the enemy's batteries; nor the Prudent, which was aground, from being ſet on fire.

I muſt confeſs, Sir, that this action did as much honour to the Engliſh, as damage to us. And, indeed, ſo long as our ſhips remained

remained in the harbour, it would have been difficult for them to make a general aſſault. Here then was our *coup de grace.* Of this we were convinced the next day by the ſhocking ſpectacle before us. We were under the greateſt concern to ſee our harbour deſolated, and laid waſte: it was covered with the wrecks, as well of thoſe ſhips that had been burnt, as of thoſe which either we or our enemy had ſunk. When we turned our eyes to view the ſituation of the town, our affliction was heightened. Our batteries were almoſt ruined, not above twelve pieces of cannon were in a condition to fire, a breach had been rendered practicable, our numbers were greatly reduced, and the redoubling of the enemy's fire had nearly deſtroyed us. Add to this, no ways and means to repair our loſſes; no appearance of relief; nay, we had ſeen the enemy a few days before, ſeize on two Spaniſh veſſels that were bringing us ſuccours.

In ſo melancholy a ſituation, there was nothing left but to capitulate; ſo that we ſuſ-

pended our fire, and ſent to demand a truce in order to regulate the articles of ſurrender. We inſiſted upon terms, far more honourable, and more advantageous, than we had a right to expect; and in caſe of a refuſal, we were reſolved to hold out to the laſt. The officer charged with the propoſals of our commandant M. de Drucourt, returned with the following letter from general Amherſt.

" In anſwer to the propoſal received on
" the part of your excellency, I have no-
" thing further to ſay, than that his ex-
" cellency admiral Boſcawen and I have
" determined, that our men of war ſhall
" enter the harbour to-morrow, in order
" to make a general aſſault. Your excel-
" lency knows full well the ſituation of the
" army and fleet, as well as of the town;
" but as admiral Boſcawen and myſelf are
" both deſirous of avoiding any further
" effuſion of blood, we give your excel-
" lency an hour to determine on the only
" capitulation we are willing to grant,
" which is to ſurrender yourſelves priſoners

" of

"of war, otherwiſe your excellency muſt "be anſwerable for all the fatal conſe- "quences of ſo uſeleſs a defence."

M. de Drucourt being extremely exaſperated at theſe hard terms, reſolved, in a council of war, to defend the town to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this reſolution, he was going to ſend an anſwer to the enemy, intimating that he would wait for a general aſſault; when the commiſſary, M. Prevoſt, came and preſented a petition to him in behalf of the inhabitants. During this interval an officer had been ſent back to Meſſieurs Boſcawen and Amherſt, in order to obtain more favourable conditions: but as they perſiſted in the ſame anſwer, nothing further remained but to comply immediately, either with the deſire of the officers of the garriſon, who were ready to defend themſelves to the utmoſt extremity; or with the petition of the commiſſary, which, without all manner of doubt, was the moſt prudent ſtep that could be taken, under our preſent ſituation. He laid a very great ſtreſs, not upon the

inutility of the defence, for that was viſible; but on the duty of a good citizen in preſerving a colony, the ruin of which muſt be attended with that of all the French poſſeſſions in North America. He obſerved further, that the councils which M. de Drucourt had hitherto called, conſiſted only of military gentlemen, whoſe deliberations were intirely directed by the glory of the king's arms, and their own honour: but that theſe conſiderations, though of as great weight with himſelf as with any man whatever, ought to give way to the public welfare, for which he thought they were accountable. In ſhort, that in their preſent condition, the moſt heroic valour could be regarded only as an act of deſperation.

So ſolid did theſe arguments appear, that there was no anſwering them; ſo that M. de Drucourt acquieſced, and ſubmitted to the law of the conqueror. The capitulation was ſoon drawn up, and the articles were as follow.

" Firſt, the garriſon of Louiſburg ſhall

" ſur-

" ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, and
" be tranſported to England on board of
" veſſels belonging to his Britannic majeſty.

" Secondly, all the artillery, ammuni-
" tion, as well as arms of what kind ſoever,
" at preſent in the town and iſlands of
" Cape Breton and St. John, ſhall be con-
" ſigned into the hands of commiſſaries ap-
" pointed for that purpoſe, in order to be
" delivered up to his Britannic majeſty.

" Thirdly, the governor ſhall give or-
" ders to the troops in the iſland of St.
" John, to ſurrender to ſuch ſhips of war
" as the admiral ſhall pleaſe to ſend to take
" them on board.

" Fourthly, the gate called Dauphin ſhall
" be opened to his Britannic majeſty's troops
" by ten o'clock to-morrow morning, and
" the garriſon, as well as thoſe who have
" borne arms, ſhall be drawn up to-morrow
" upon the eſplanade, where they ſhall lay
" down their arms, colours, and military
" accoutrements; after which they ſhall go
" on board thoſe veſſels which are to tranſ-
" port them to England.

" Fifthly,

"Fifthly, the ſame care ſhall be taken "of the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals, "as of the ſubjects of his Britannic ma-"jeſty.

"Sixthly, the merchants and their clerks, "that have not borne arms, ſhall be ſent "to France, on board ſuch veſſels as the "admiral ſhall judge proper to appoint."

This capitulation was made the 26th of July, and of courſe after a bloody ſiege of two months, which we could never have maintained for ſo long a time, had it not been for thoſe four ſhips of war, which we were unfortunately obliged to ſacrifice.

The day following, at the hour agreed to, major Forqhar took poſſeſſion of the gate Dauphin at the head of three companies of grenadiers. By noon general Whitmore, who had ſo greatly contributed to the taking of the place, had the honour due to him of receiving the ſubmiſſion of the garriſon in the eſplanade. He then cauſed the arms and colours to be carried off, ordered corps de gardes and ſentinels, and in ſhort, acted as governor of Louiſburg.

We

We had only one misfortune more to apprehend; though perhaps this gave no great uneaſineſs to thoſe ſilly fools (and many ſuch there were amongſt us) who never troubled their heads, either about what is paſt, or to come. For would you imagine how our officers were employed during the heat of the ſiege? When they were not upon duty, they aſſembled together, and gamed ſo very high, that to ſee them, one would have thought they were certain of the future inutility of their money. Perhaps it was a mark of courage? I ſhould ſay ſo, if a tranquillity during the moment of deſtruction merited that name; but I am very far from being of this opinion. I could not help cenſuring the folly of thoſe bold gameſters, whom a ſingle bomb, out of a thouſand that fell every day, might have cruſhed to pieces in the midſt of ſo laudable an occupation. You will tell me, perhaps, that I am going to turn preacher. Not I, indeed; at leaſt I ſhall give no lecture of morality; but as to an elogium on our conquerors, I hope

you will indulge me in it; both juſtice and gratitude demand it of our hands; and therefore I have only to return to the ſubject which preceded this digreſſion.

Yes, Sir, we had one misfortune more to apprehend; viz. that our enemies ſhould on the preſent occaſion copy after our example. They had not forgot the extraordinary barbarities and cruelties, which we had ſuffered the ſavages to practiſe upon them after the taking of Oſwego, and Fort Henry William, which had ſurrendered nevertheleſs upon a more advantageous capitulation, than that which we had but juſt concluded. There had not been time enough to efface the memory of that action; and the continuation of the war had kept up the ſpirit of juſt reſentment. Beſides, though we were conquered, we frequently let fall ſome expreſſions that ſhewed our animoſity, and were far from ſoothing exaſperated minds. The evening before the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the town, we ſuffered the ſoldiers to plunder the magazines; and the prieſts ſpent the whole night in marrying all the girls

girls of that place to the firſt that would have them, for fear they ſhould fall into the hands of heretics. Beſides, the exhauſted ſtate of the military cheſt had raiſed a ſuſpicion, which was likely to create more ill blood; but notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, the probity, honour, and humanity of the Engliſh chiefs prevailed. Meſſieurs Boſcawen and Amherſt, after acting with that ſpirit of harmony, which is ſo uncommon in joint commanders, and redounds ſo greatly to their honour; and after conducting this enterprize with equal valour and ability; ſhewed themſelves poſſeſſed of thoſe virtues that form the man of honour, as much as of thoſe that diſtinguiſh the hero.

The vigilance of the admiral during the whole time of the ſiege, his application in ſearch of the proper means to bring it to a happy iſſue, his judgment in the choice of thoſe means, as appeared moſt evidently in executing the ſcheme againſt our two men of war; his activity, which was not ſatisfied with the buſineſs of the fleet committed to his care, but induced him to come every

day

day to the camp, in order to concert matters with general Amherſt; theſe are objects, which the Engliſh will never loſe ſight of, and which undoubtedly muſt command the perpetual gratitude of his country. Our acknowledgment is alſo due to him upon a very juſt title, though of a different kind; and our eſteem is a tribute, which he moſt richly deſerves on both accounts.

To be brief, Sir, no body here can perceive, at leaſt by any perſonal inconveniency, that we are in a conquered town. The garriſon has embarked with as much tranquillity, as if it had been going upon a voyage of pleaſure. Every ſoldier has taken away whatever belonged to him, without ſuffering the leaſt injuſtice. M. de Drucourt has received all the honours which a perſon of his rank deſerved. The admiral has ſhewn all the reſpects to Madame de Drucourt as were due to her merit: every favour ſhe aſked, was granted. True it is, that ſuch behaviour does honour to the diſcernment of the gentlemen that ſhewed it. This lady has performed

ſuch

ſuch exploits during the ſiege, as muſt entitle her to a rank among the moſt illuſtrious of her ſex; for ſhe fired three cannon every day, in order to animate the gunners. After the ſurrender of the town, ſhe intereſted herſelf in behalf of all the unfortunate people that had recourſe to her mediation. In this number, M. Maillet de Grandville was a ſtriking inſtance of the inſtability of fortune. He left France at the age of ſeventeen, and arrived at Quebec in very indifferent circumſtances. But by his induſtry and application to buſineſs he ſoon advanced himſelf in the world, ſo as to be able to purchaſe the lordſhip of Mount Louis, which coſt him fourſcore thouſand livres. But now by the taking of Louiſburg, he loſes upwards of a hundred and fifty thouſand, and is left quite deſtitute with a numerous family. Yet what have theſe private loſſes, you will ſay, to do with our country in general? A great deal, I aſſure you; though the perſons entruſted with the reins of government, ſeem to act as if theſe were matters of no con-

cern

cern at all. Do you imagine, that there will be ſuch numbers henceforward, ſo ready to quit their country, and to ſpend their days in inceſſant toil, when they might paſs them agreeably at home; if they find that they are to be ſtripped of the fruit of all their labour, by a moſt ſhameful neglect of our colonies? But this revives my old lamentations; and in all probability you have had enough of that ſtrain already in France. Nothing therefore remains but to let you know, that I propoſe very ſoon to have the pleaſure of embracing you; if my departure, which depends on my ſtate of health, ſhould be ſo near at hand as I expect. Yet I fancy you will have another letter before that time. I have contracted a particular intimacy with an Engliſhman of extraordinary good ſenſe, with whom I have been ſeveral times in company. I propoſe giving you an account of our converſation; and I fancy you will not be diſpleaſed to hear what our enemies think in regard to the importance of their conqueſt;

and

and you will be able thereby to form a better judgment of the reaſons we had to be ſo ſtrenuous, both for the defence, and recovery of that fortreſs. But I ſhall conclude with giving you a commiſſion, which, I fancy, will be extremely agreeable to your diſpoſition: this is, to tell our merchants that the enemy have done no injury or violence here at all to people in trade, but have ſuffered them to diſpoſe of their effects in what manner they pleaſed; to let our officers know, that the gentlemen of the army have been treated with all the reſpect and moderation imaginable; to acquaint the common people, that the moſt humane uſage has been ſhewn to perſons of their condition; and laſtly, to apprize all our countrymen in general, that if this reverſe of fortune ſhould increaſe their natural antipathy againſt the Engliſh, it furniſhes us with another motive to endeavour to get out of their debt; and therefore we ought to embrace the firſt opportunity of making them a proper return, not ſo much for the loſs we have ſuſtained, as for their humane be-

haviour to our people. I think, and doubtleſs you will think ſo too, that ſuch ought to be the wiſhes, and ſuch the conduct of a generous mind. Your moſt &c.

LETTER XXIV. and laſt.

Converſation between an Engliſhman of merit and the author; reflexions on the importance of Cape Breton to both powers.

SIR,

I SHOULD not be willing to augment the chagrin, which France muſt receive from the loſs of Cape Breton; I am ſenſible, that in general our diſcourſe ſhould be on ſuch topics, as rather give pleaſure than uneaſineſs to thoſe with whom we converſe; and that there are very few, who chuſe to think of future difficulties, let this forethought be attended with ever ſo great an advantage. But I am writing to a friend, who chuſes to hear the truth, be it ever ſo diſagreeable; and to fix his eye on ſuch a point of view, as ſhall repreſent the real poſture of affairs. I may therefore inform you, that our loſs, in all probability, is irreparable. And why

why ſo? you will reply. Did not the Engliſh take Louiſburg in the laſt war? And did not they reſtore it at the concluding of the peace? I propoſed this very queſtion to the Engliſhman, whom I mentioned to you in my preceding letter, and one day that I preſſed him very hard, not ſo much from any doubt I entertained of his way of thinking upon the ſubject, as from a glimmering hope, which I would willingly have grounded on the infatuation of our enemies, he gave me the following anſwer.

You talk, ſaid he, of the reſtitution which we made to you of theſe iſlands in the laſt war, as if you expected we ſhould obſerve the like conduct again; but our minds as well as the times are changed. Three motives which, upon ſigning the peace, appeared very cogent to our government, determined us to agree to that meaſure. The firſt was the loſs of the battle of Fontenoi, joined to the inteſtine diviſions which you had raiſed in our country, in order to compel us to make peace; and which you might have revived in good

earneſt, if we had not complied. The ſecond was the expectation of ſeeing the limits of Acadia ſettled to our ſatisfaction, as no explication had been given as yet in regard to this article. The third and laſt was, that we had but an imperfect idea of the utility of our conqueſt; and beſides, the weak condition of your navy made us very eaſy in regard to all your projects. Theſe three motives no longer ſubſiſt, and in all probability will not return again. The war on the continent does not turn out to your advantage; and you have to contend on that ſide with generals of too much bravery and ſkill, to flatter yourſelves with any hopes. I am even of opinion, that this continental war will do as much in our favour, as we ourſelves ſhall be able to effect; of this we have a demonſtration in the neglect, which France has lately ſhewn with regard to this colony. The attention of your government is fixed upon Germany; you have almoſt loſt ſight of the original quarrel; and we ought to profit by your miſtakes, as no doubt but you would

profit

profit by ours. And is it poſſible for us to commit a greater, than to follow your example, and forget our real intereſts? This would be quitting the ſubſtance to run after the ſhadow; no, let the ſucceſs be what it will on that ſide, we ſhall freely reſign your palms, and keep our own. Beſides, the univerſal bent of the nation is againſt any ſuch deſign, which might even prove dangerous to thoſe who ſhould venture to propoſe it. With reſpect to the artifice you had recourſe to, in order to bring about the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, you are too much exhauſted to employ it again: the maintaining of three powerful armies is too great an expence for you, to be able to ſpare any money upon that ſcheme. And beſides, how do you know they could be decoyed again? Do you imagine they would be your tools and dupes a ſecond time? And would they venture to truſt you, without a moral certainty of ſucceſs? But perhaps you will attempt to invade us? Can you think of ſuch an enterprize, with the leaſt probability of ſucceſs? The hatred

between the two nations is too ſtrong, for either of them to ſubdue the other. In caſe of a foreign invaſion, even the ſtocks and ſtones would turn ſoldiers. Such a project has never ſucceeded, but by means of inteſtine diviſions, either in France or England.

But perhaps we may imagine, that you will reſign to us, *bona fide*, all that you had ceded to us already at the treaty of Utrecht. And did not you promiſe to do ſo by the laſt treaty? Surely your former ſubterfuges muſt make us ſenſible of what we are to expect for the future. Beſides, ſo great is the difference between your pretenſions and ours, that we have not the leaſt proſpect of obtaining any ſatisfaction, but by means of the longeſt ſword.

In ſhort, we have had time and opportunity to be convinced, at our own coſt, of the real value of this colony; to know what it enables you to undertake and execute; conſequently, of what value it may be to us: and we own, if ever we ſhould give it up, it would be too late to recover it, when

you

you were better able to defend it by the augmentation of your navy.

You ſay you will not make peace but upon this condition? Well then, let us ſee who will be able to hold out the longeſt. For our part, we entered into the war, only in order to hinder you from ruining our colonies, and from robbing us of thoſe which you had yielded by treaty. And how were you likely to ſucceed? Cape Breton alone would have enabled you to effect your purpoſe. By keeping poſſeſſion of this important conqueſt, we put an end to the diſpute about the limits of Acadia; we confine you within the bounds, which you had preſcribed to yourſelves; and we deprive you of the power of enlarging and changing them at pleaſure. The navigation of the river of St. Lawrence muſt always be commanded by thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of Cape Breton. And who ought to be in poſſeſſion of this iſland, but they who by the treaty of Utrecht have moſt territories bordering upon it? Conſequently it ought to belong to Great-Britain. But you diſpute about your own free gift; and

for this very reaſon, we ought not to piqué ourſelves upon ſhewing you any act of generoſity, as you would ſoon give us reaſon to repent it. Ought a peace to deprive us of the fruits of a ſucceſs, ſo dearly purchaſed, and even ſo neceſſary for the end we propoſed in going to war? Our buſineſs is to enlarge our commerce, to ſecure our colonies, and to protect them from being continually a prey to your invaſions, or to the cruelties committed, at your inſtigation, on the part of the ſavages. By keeping Louiſburg, we ſhall not be afraid of being moleſted, or ſtreightened in our colonies, much leſs of hearing you diſpute the legality of our poſſeſſions. Neither will you come to diſturb us in our fiſhery, and thereby deprive us of the greateſt advantage we can poſſibly derive from this country. Beſides, you will be no longer the ſole poſſeſſors of the fur-trade; the ſavages muſt deal with us; and as ſoon as they ceaſe to be animated by your inſtigations, and cuſtom has familiarized the intercourſe between them and us, we

ſhall have an end of that periodical deſolation with which theſe provinces are ſo often afflicted. We are maſters of all the coaſt from Newfoundland to Florida; and the jealouſy you may conceive againſt our power, will be a leſſer evil, both to you and to us, than the vicinity of our colonies, which will be always a ſource of diſputes and quarrels. Theſe are the real, and preſent advantages accruing from the poſſeſſion of Cape Breton. With regard to occaſional benefits, they are ſtill equally great on our ſide, if reducing the power of our natural enemy can be reckoned ſuch. And, indeed, if you ceaſe to be maſters of Cape Breton, you are intirely driven out of the cod-fiſhery; and then, as you loſe at the ſame time your imaginary rights to Acadia, the territories remaining in your poſſeſſion in North America will be rather a burden than an advantage to you. Louiſburg being your ſtaple town, and the center of communication for veſſels that come from France, as well as from the Weſt-Indies, your navigation will be in as ruinous a condition as your com-

commerce. Besides, this will be striking at your navy, as the fishery alone furnished you with sailors; whereas, you used before to hire them of your neighbours.

At length I interrupted him, with some little acrimony: and so, Sir, you would reduce us to our old possessions in Europe? Is not this what you would be at, and what you desire? Yes, answered the Englishman very coolly, if it depended upon me, and it were possible. But would not you have still enough to make you amends, continued he: are not the productions of your own country preferable to those of our two islands in Europe? Besides, do you look upon the great extent of your dominions, and the beauty of your climate, as nothing? And is not your wine alone an article equivalent to whatever we might acquire in America? Indeed, replied I smiling, we will not sit down contented with this equivalent. I see very plainly, continued I more seriously, that Cape Breton is likely to be the Dunkirk of North America, and that the longest sword will

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carry it; yet as after a very long conteſt, we gained our point in regard to the European Dunkirk, perhaps we may have the ſame good fortune in reſpect to the American. You are ſenſible how greatly it behoves us to run all riſks in order to recover it; too ſenſible indeed to preſume we can be ignorant of ſo important an intereſt. Hitherto we had ſuppoſed, or rather we acted as if we ſuppoſed you ignorant of this point; but the more you ſeem to be convinced of the greatneſs of our loſs, and the more buſtle and noiſe you make about never delivering this place up to us again, the more ſhall we direct our attention to this object. As to what you mentioned concerning the prejudice it would do us, and the advantage you would reap from it, I have nothing further to add; and even if I thought of any thing that you had omitted, I ſhould take care to conceal my mind. It would not be at all natural for me to ſtrengthen your arguments; but you muſt allow me to tell you, that things may turn out quite different in the event; neither are your pretenſions to

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ſucceſs ſo juſt as you imagine. I do not ſee that the poſſeſſion of Acadia, even in the extent you give it, ought to include that of Cape Breton. Nay, you did not think ſo yourſelves, ſince you left us the latter, at a time when perhaps we could not have refuſed to deliver it up to you. And becauſe we have made you a preſent, is this any reaſon we ſhould be ſtripped of our lawful poſſeſſions? Not at all, anſwered the Engliſhman; but your attempt to revoke that very preſent; your inſincerity in your promiſes, and in all your dealings; your obſtinacy in reviving the quarrel; and laſtly, your artifices in throwing the blame upon us; theſe are the motives that induced us to enter into a reſolution ſo greatly to your prejudice. It was mere neceſſity that forced us into this meaſure, when the whole tenour of your conduct had convinced us of your treacherous deſigns. But you will not find it ſo eaſy a matter, replied I, to put your threats into execution. The ſeveral European ſtates that are poſſeſſed of foreign colonies, have the ſame intereſt to preſerve

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lance of power in America, as they can poſſibly have in Europe. The Spaniards and the Dutch will join us, in order to reduce you within proper bounds; beſides, you have a country on the continent to ranſom; an ally to ſave; and there we ſhall be even with you. But you are not as yet in poſſeſſion of the former, replied the Engliſhman; neither have you conquered the latter: but I anſwered this objection before. In regard to the alliance, with which you threaten us, a thouſand circumſtances may prevent it; and if there was nothing elſe in our favour, you may depend upon this, that the powers ſuppoſed to form ſuch an alliance, are equally divided in their ſentiments in regard to both nations, that is, they have the ſame diſinclination to, the ſame fear, and the ſame diſtruſt of both. Thus being dubious which ſide to take, in all probability they will determine to ſtand neuter, in order to let us weaken each other: and in that caſe you muſt allow, that the party which comes off the winner, muſt by means of his conqueſts, and other coincident advantages,

vantages, be enabled to ſecure his acquiſitions, before the ſtorm ariſing from a combination of powers breaks out. And beſides, do not you ſee that we muſt abſolutely play double or quits; that as we can have neither peace nor reſt in our colonies without the poſſeſſion of Louiſburg, we muſt reſolve to keep it, let the conſequence be what it will?

The above, Sir, is a ſpecimen of the conferences I had with a man, whoſe frankneſs and plain dealing, I am ſure would command your eſteem. With French vivacity, converſations of this kind would take quite a different turn; moſt of us would break out into ſome angry expreſſion; or elſe would manage the argument with craft and inſincerity. I do not ſay but there are a great many natives of England, who behave in this reſpect like Frenchmen; for I flatter myſelf, that they have not all the ſame coolneſs and reſolution as my honeſt friend. It is ſome comfort that every nation hath its weak ſide; the Engliſhman is inconſtant, and his manner of viewing the ſame objects frequently ariſes from ſuch impreſſions, as would ſhock him greatly,

greatly, if they had been recommended to him by any other perſon. To-day he ſees nothing equal to the poſſeſſion of Cape Breton; to-morrow perhaps he will fancy that the value of Minorca riſes; and then he will imagine that an exchange of theſe two iſlands may be a very proper meaſure. But let us not depend too much upon ſuch uncertainties; neither let us forget any ſtep that is capable of producing ſo favourable a diſpoſition in our enemy. The ingenuity of men in regard to expedients, is generally a conſequence of the exigencies to which they are reduced: the reſource indeed is as precarious, as hope in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

But this word *diſtreſs* puts me in mind, that I neglected to adminiſter ſome conſolation to you, for the diſappointment you met with in regard to your voyage to this part of the world. Of what uſe is a minute deſcription of theſe two iſlands to you at preſent; to what purpoſe this account of the manners of men, who appear to us in ſo ſtrange a light, and we in as ſtrange to them; to what

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end theſe advices, theſe inſtructions upon trade and government; in a word, all that I have been ſcralling? My intention in this epiſtolary correſpondence, was to entertain and improve you; while perhaps I have only afforded you matter of uneaſineſs. But this is not the ſtrongeſt impreſſion you will receive: I know you toowell not to be convinced that I ſhall hear you ſay, as ſoon as we have the pleaſure of embracing each other: the ſatisfaction a man of honour feels, in converſing with a friend who is of a generous way of thinking, and who ſpeaks his mind with a ſtrict regard to truth and juſtice, is a pleaſure of ſo delicate a nature as to abſorb every other ſenſation.

The END.

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